VICE SQUAD CONSPIRACY AGAINST HUEY

SEE PAGE 3

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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Chicano COINTELPRO

FEDERAL POLICE PLOT TO DESTROY MEXICAN-AMERICAN UNITY





The Chicano movement here in the U.S. was a target of the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO and Operation CHAOS, a CIA plan to harass leading Chicano activists and organizations.

(New York, N.Y.) - Strong evidence points to the existence of a COINTELPRO (Counter-intelligence Program)-type conspiracy by federal, state and local police agencies to "destroy, disrupt and discredit" the Chicano movement in the U.S., the *Militant* reports.

While specific government documents detailing the all-out government war against Chicano activists and organizations have yet to be unearthed, there is concrete proof that from the very beginning of the Chicano struggles in the 1960's, the U.S. power structure — acting much as it has in the continuing FBI COINTELPRO plot against the Black Panther Party — has sought to smash the Chicano movement:

•Materials released under the Freedom of Information Act to Jose Angel Gutierrez, a founding leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party, a Chicano political party, have revealed an elaborate plan — dubbed "operation CHAOS: "Chicano Power Movement" — by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to harass every leading Chicano activist and organization in the *movimiento*;

•As early as 1964, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was maintaining files on and actively seeking to sabotage Alianza, an organization in northern New Mexico seeking to reclaim lands that had belonged to Mexican-Americans before the U.S. conquest of the Southwest;

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Editorial

WAR ON THE LEFT

Will they ever end, the tales of high-level U.S. government conspiracy against progressive people both inside and outside this country?

As the cover story reports, the CIA, FBI and other federal, state and local police agencies have persistently sought to crush the Chicano movement in America since its inception in the early 1960's. The sabotage, beatings, murders and misdeeds directed against the *movimiento* read very much like the COINTELPRO documents describing the FBI's secret war against the Black Panther Party.

The U.S. power structure will not, indeed *cannot*, tolerate any deviation from the status quo — that is, its total control of the lives of the poor and the oppressed.

The sad thing is that for the most part, police state actions against the BPP, the Chicano movement, and other progressive individuals and organizations will remain suppressed. The truth continues to be hidden from us.

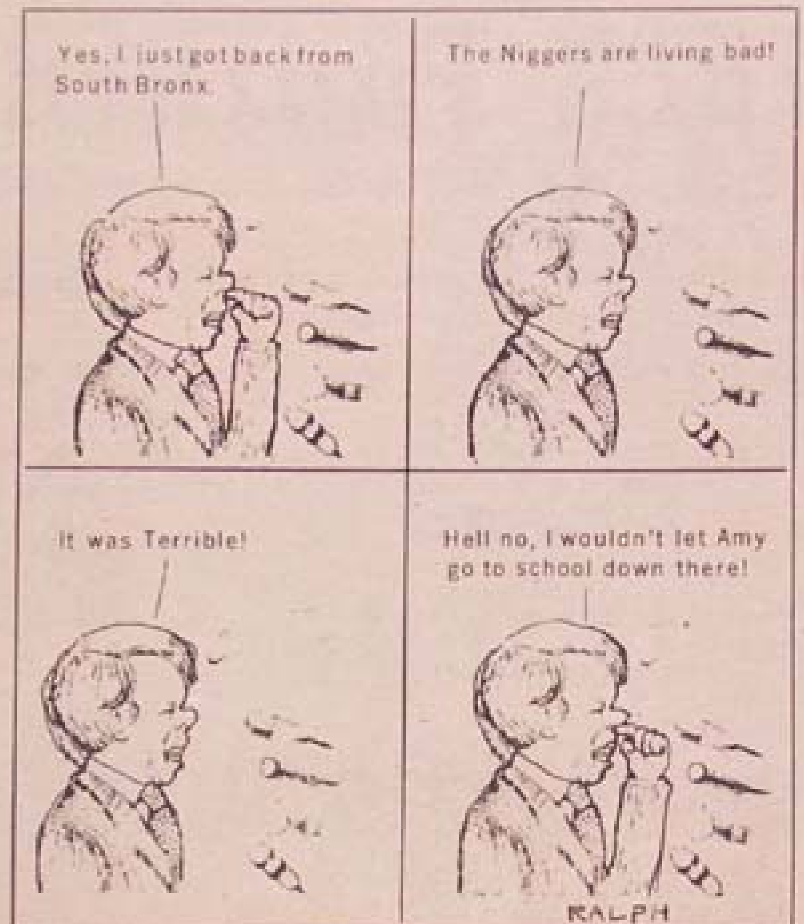
Two cases point to the blatant cover-up of the power structure's relentless attempts to destroy those in America and other countries who threaten its position.

First, there is Cuban-born, ex-CIA agent, convicted Watergate burglar Frank Sturgis. Last week, all charges were dropped against the one-time Cuban revolutionary (he actually fought alongside Fidel Castro) for threatening to kill another ex-CIA agent who publicly connected him to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

(Sturgis' name pops up frequently in incidents of government conspiracy against the Left. In 1970, Sturgis, acting as an agent of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) of the U.S. Treasury Department, infiltrated the leadership of the Chicano Vietnam Moratorium.

Also last week, ex-CIA Director Richard Helms was allowed to go virtually scott free for lying to a Senate committee regarding U.S. espionage activities against the Marxist government of assassinated Chilean President Salvador Allende.

The handling of the Sturgis and Helms cases smacks of a cover-up — the continuing cover-up of the U.S. government/big business alliance's worldwide campaign to retain its power. □



Letters to the Editor

SUPPORT HUEY AND THE B.P.P.

Dear Editor,

As being a follower of the BPP and also believing in what they stand for I feel that if the Black people of this community and every other community appreciate all the work that has been done by the BPP they should show this by standing and fighting for "Justice for Huey." With the article in Sunday's **Oakland Tribune** (10-30-77) — "Newton's Links to Suspects" — is another one of the FBI's plots to discredit Huey and the Black Panther Party. We the people have been put down in so many ways, and we now have to show the government and other secret services we are tired of being their underdogs to the crimes they commit themselves. Being a sister and seeing the way the system works, I know that minorities end up with the tail end of all crimes. We do not want the system to destroy the progress that the BPP has achieved for the people. People that have been brainwashed with the system don't understand the struggle that Black people have gone through and are still going through. The BPP has accomplished more in the last 11 years than the government has accomplished in the past 50 years. Children that go the the Oakland Community School (OCS) learn more than the children in public schools. People that didn't know where to go and get help now know that they can always go to the BPP and get what they need.

Sincerely,
Jackie Jones
Oakland, Calif.

SEEKS INFORMATION ON FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

My letter is to say thank you for sending me THE BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service. Having once been a resident of Oakland some years back, it feels good to realize that the people are truly united in a great effort. Brothers and sisters I would greatly appreciate information as to how the People's Free Food Program works. I realize that this type of program would be very useful here. I am presently trying to start community programs which deal with helping people's survival without being dependant upon the

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COMMENT

12 Years After Voting Rights Act

The following commentary is written by B. Drummond Ayres, Atlanta-based reporter for the New York Times.

A dozen years have passed since the Voting Rights Act opened the way for full Black participation in Southern politics. But the full potential of Black political power in Dixie remains unrealized.

The act has enabled Blacks to become an electoral element to be reckoned with, in many cases the swing vote. It has forced George Wallace to talk about "all" Alabamians and has induced Strom Thurmond to put his child in an integrated school. It has led White sheriffs to hire Black deputies and has improved street maintenance in the Black ghetto of Jackson, Mississippi.

But Blacks, who constitute 20 per cent of the South's population, continue to hold less than three per cent of the region's 79,000 elective offices. Although Memphis has a Black congressman and Atlanta has a Black mayor, there are dozens and dozens of Southern political jurisdictions that have yet to elect a single Black official, including two-thirds of the 100 or so Southern counties that are predominantly Black.

On Tuesday [November 8] and Saturday [November 12] 300 Black candidates will seek office in county and municipal elections all across the South. Many stand good chances of winning, including the Black candidate for mayor of New Orleans. But if history repeats, as is expected, Blacks will still hold only about three per cent of the South's elective jobs when the last vote has been counted.

While there continue to be isolated instances of racial intimidation in Southern politics, particularly the use of economic coercion, most students of the region's electoral process agree that Blacks hold relatively few offices mainly because of a lack of motivation and organization.

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THE BLACK PANTHER
[illegible]
SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

B.P.P. LEADER TO STAND TRIAL ON FALSE CHARGES

VICE SQUAD CONSPIRACY AGAINST HUEY MOVES TO SUPERIOR COURT





BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON greets Party supporter MOLLY DOUGHERTY upon her release from jail (above) and poses with lawyers (left to right) FRED HIESTAND, PAUL HARRIS, SHELDON OTIS, and DENNIS ROBERTS.

(Oakland, Calif.) - Attorney Sheldon Otis stood by the defense table, his right hand balled into a fist, hitting the palm of his left hand with a loud slap. His client, Black Panther Party Founder and President Huey P. Newton, sat impassively to his right.

Over and over again, Otis hammered away, both with his fist and with astute legal arguments, urging Judge Friborg not to ''bite the bullet,'' not to ''let a higher court decide,'' but to see clearly that there was a conspiracy at work, ''a conspiracy of the Oakland Police Department, the vice squad in particular and officer Rich Tyson *in particular*, to frame Huey P. Newton.''

Otis' efforts, however, were hitting a brick wall.

Two and a half hours after the day's court session had begun on the seventh day of th preliminary hearing, Oakland-Piedmont Municipal Court Judge J. Robert Friborg ordered that Black Panther Party Founder and President Huey P. Newton must stand trial in Alameda County Superior Court on the false charges lodged against him. Arraignment in Su-

''We're very disappointed, but not surprised, because judges usually like to pass the buck and depend on the Superior Court judges to strike evidence from the record,'' Huey told reporters after the hearing had concluded:

''I'm still optimistic that when it gets to Superior Court, we'll win the case.''

In court this past Monday, November 7, defense attorneys Paul Harris and Sheldon Otis battled vainly to persuade Friborg to limit the testimony and evidence presented by the prosecution against Huey.

Three key legal questions were at issue during the hearing: (1) The admissibility of prior transcripts and a tape recording by Preston Callins, the Black tailor who alleged that Huey assaulted him on August 16, 1974; (2) An illegal search of Huey's garage area; and (3) The inconsistencies and lies of the two admitted prostitutes set up by the vice squad as alleged ''eyewitnesses'' to the shooting of a 17-year-old streetwalker named Kathleen Smith on August 6, 1974.

Yet, despite the sound arguments presented, it was obvious to all from the start that Judge Friborg's mind was closed, that he was not willing to listen to reason.

Otis pounded away at the contradictions and inconsistencies in the testimony of both Raphaelle Gary and Michelle Jenkins, the alleged ''eyewitnesses.''

''I can't concede, I refuse to concede, that either witnesses' testimony carries enough weight to go to trial,'' Otis said at one point in attacking the women's credibility.

Huey's chief counsel said that the two women's stories ''substantially differed,'' noting that each claimed to be alone with Ms. Smith on the corner of 28th and San Pablo the night the incident occurred.

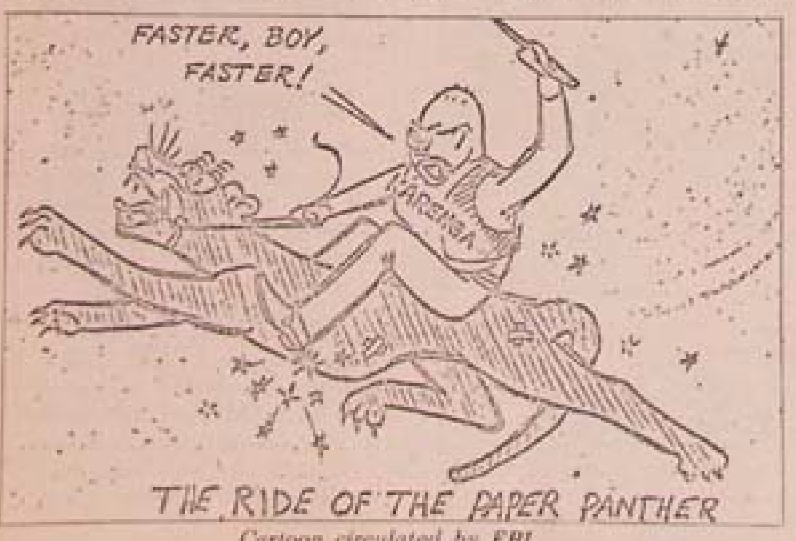
Otis pointed out, as examples, that the physical descriptions of

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PROVOKES AND ASSISTS US ORGANIZATION VIOLENCE IN SAN DIEGO

F.B.I. Secret War Against B.P.P.

The following is Part 2 of a special three-part series in THE BLACK PANTHER detailing the federal government's secret war against the Black Panther Party. The information in this series is based on previously suppressed FBI documents and records recently released to Black Panther Party Founder and President Huey P. Newton.



Cartoon circulated by FBI.

(Oakland, Calif.) - An FBI memo from the San Diego office to Bureau headquarters in Washington, D.C., sent just one month before the murder of Black Panther Party member John Savage in that city by members of the reactionary Ron Karenga-led Los Angeles-based US organization, reveals a concerted federal police campaign both to instigate and provoke anti-BPP violence, as well as to create internal dissent and suspicions within the San Diego BPP Chapter.

Dated 4/10/69, the four-page memorandum fell under the FBI's vicious COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) plan to ''disrupt, discredit and destroy'' the Black Panther Party, and is divided into four subdivisions: (I), ''Operations Under Consideration''; (II) ''Operations Being Effected''; (III),

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PIONEER SOCIOLOGIST AT BIAS TRIAL

I.Q. TESTS CALLED "RUBBER RULER"

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Quoting from the famous Black drama *A Raisin in the Sun* to express her views, a pioneer researcher in the field of correcting the mislabeling of Blacks as mentally-retarded testified at the ongoing I.Q. bias trial here recently.

Dr. Jane Mercer, professor of sociology at the University of California, Riverside, and author of "SOMPA — System of Multi-Cultural Pluralistic Assessment," told U.S. District Court Judge Robert Peckham that I.Q. tests were "not a very good predicator" of intelligence but were "precarious instruments...somewhat like using a rubber ruler."

To avoid the pitfalls of such methods, Dr. Mercer quoted an admonition from Lena Younger to her daughter in Lorraine Hansberry's noted play, *A Rasin in the Sun*.

"When you start measuring somebody, measure him right, child, measure him right. Make sure you done taken into account what hills and valleys he come through before he got to wherever he is.'

"I think that sums up what we're trying to do," Dr. Mercer said.

Dr. Mercer's testimony came as an expert witness in support of a class action lawsuit filed in 1971 by six Black youth and their parents who contend that I.Q. tests are culturally- and racially-biased against Blacks and other minorities, and therefore must not be used to place non-White schoolchildren in classes for the Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR).



Black children are systematically denied decent education through the use of culturally-biased I.Q. tests.

In 1971, when the suit was filed, Black elementary schoolchildren made up 66 per cent of those in EMR classes in San Francisco, although Blacks made up less than 30 per cent of the city's school population.

In her testimony on October 26, Dr. Mercer explained that before publishing her book on the alternative methods of testing, she directed a nine-year sociology project starting in 1962 in Riverside.

The project's purpose was to find out how people were classified as mentally retarded.

"Probably the most frightening thing revealed by the study," the noted sociologist said, "was that 429 out of 800 labeled mentally retarded were nominated by public schools. Next were medical facilities with only 166."

Schools, she said, relied mainly on I.Q. tests in making their diagnosis — while what those tests show is predict how Anglo-Saxon children were likely to do in school.

REFERRALS

Individual teachers were the primary source of "referrals," Dr. Mercer said, accounting for 90 per cent, with parents accounting for only two per cent.

Most of the labeling took place in elementary schools before the sixth grade.

"Less than 20 per cent ever returned from EMR classes to regular classes," Dr. Mercer said.

"Some went on to other agencies or dropped out of classes. Only 11 per cent aged out (at the 18-year-old ceiling for mandatory school attendance)."

Dr. Mercer will return to the stand for cross-examination when the trial returns from a recess until November 8.□









"Boogoloo" At O.C.L.C. Forum

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Oakland Community Learning Center was packed last Sunday for a "Battle of the Boo-go-loos," which was highlighted by an appearance of the Bay Area's VARIATIONS (right).

Winners in a dance contest were BLACK MECHANICS (top right); J.D.s COSMIC ROBOT (top center) placed second; and JUNIOR DEVICES (top left).

BPNS photo

This Week In Black History

November 12, 1775

On November 12, 1775, General George Washington, commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the 13 colonies, issued a general order forbidding recruiting officers from enlisting Blacks. Five days earlier, on November 7, Lord Dunmore, the ousted British governor of Virginia, had issued a proclamation promising freedom to male slaves who joined the British Army.

November 11, 1831

Nat Turner, a slave who led a bloody revolt in Southampton County, Virginia, on August 21-22, 1831 — in which 60 Whites were killed — was hanged at Jerusalem, Virginia, on November 11, 1831.

November 7, 1841

On November 7, 1841, slaves aboard the ship Creole, en route from Hampton, Virginia, to New Orleans, overpowered the crew and sailed the vessel to the Bahamas where they were granted asylum and freedom.



LOUIS ARMSTRONG

November 11, 1925

Famed Black musician Louis Armstrong recorded the first of the *Hot Five* and *Hot Seven* recordings which influenced the direction of jazz on November 11, 1925.

November 7, 1967

On November 7, 1967, Carl B. Stokes was elected mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, and Richard G. Hatcher mayor of Gary, Indiana. They were the first Black men elected mayors of major American cities.

HUEY P. NEWTON SPEAKS AT PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

The following is the conclusion of Black Panther Party President Huey P. Newton's insightful speech at Pacific School of Religion, presented on October 28, 1977. We resume in the middle of the lively question and answer period.



BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON at recent speaking engagement at the Pacific School of Religion.

CONCLUSION

"I think that we are going toward an age that, if the people direct that age and put it in its proper perspective, perhaps we can make things smaller and return them to the community so that the comunity can operate these facilities which affect our lives and so we all can understand our natural reserves; how to use ecology; how to use our machinery in a rational way on a community level; and no one will feel threatened by it. I think it is quite possible.

"Whether it will happen like that, I do not know. I know it will not happen unless we have the will, the direction and the understanding of where we want to go. I think that at this point in the country, after our great struggles of the '60's, we lost direction because we didn't realize that we did not have a real direction in the first place."

"We were anti-everything without establishing a scientific program in order to form a new thing. We sort of petered out, and the Democratic Party took the praise, the victory for all of our accomplishments. Every time we accomplished something we said, 'We've been co-opted,' and therefore failed to use any of our accomplishments as a springboard to show the people that there is another way to do things. We wanted to fail, in some strange way.

"We did not realize that there is not a necessary dichotomy between reform and revolution. Reform is only bad if you use the reformist explanation and reformist goal as the end all and the be all. But it is certainly proper to use reform tactics if the door is still open to transform the total situation, (the indefinite situation).

QUESTION: "Elaine Brown said in an interview that before you left there was a contract out on your life by pimps and people like that. Would you comment on that?"

HUEY: "I believe there is a coalition with the police, pimps and prostitutes, to discredit me and to destroy the Black Panther Party. Elaine was given a statement by a former police officer. (We're trying to contact him now, as a matter of fact, he is contacted; whether he'll testify I

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Los Angeles police agent CONNIE MILAZZO (center, with glasses).

My Tennis Partner Was A Police Spy

The following expose of illegal police spying in Los Angeles is written by top researcher/author Jeff Cohen.

I first met Connie Milazzo in the summer of 1975. We were both members of the Campaign for Democratic Freedoms (CDF), a Los Angeles-based group dedicated to "mobilizing against the developing police state." We both professed a disgust for police spies and infiltrators. We both expressed contempt for a system whose response to economic recession was always more cops, and never more jobs.

But there was a major difference between us. Connie was a member of another organization on the side — the LAPD.

It came as a mild shock: paging through the *L.A. Times* last month, I noticed a tiny article, "Suspect Cleared — She's Policewoman." Connie had been arrested with 19 others at a demonstration that turned into a brawl. The story said that she had infiltrated the Progressive Labor Party, which called the rally to demand unconditional amnesty for undocumented workers. Rioting charges were dropped against Connie, and she is expected to testify against the others.

From our work together in CDF, I remember Connie as quiet, soft-spoken and good-natured. She was an excellent listener. Connie always knew what was going on in the organization, but did not ask too many questions — of the group or of individuals. She was not a

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O.C.L.C. Sponsors Mini-Market For Seniors





(Oakland, Calif.) - Last Tuesday marked the opening of the Seniors Against A Fearful Environment (SAFE) Program's Mobile Mini-Market, which will provide senior citizens with groceries at a 30 to 50 per cent discount.

The program had a very successful beginning at the Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC) as the elderly, most of whom exist on inadequate fixed incomes, flocked to the OCLC to take advantage of the SAFE-sponsored mini-market which will be an ongoing activity.

PLOT TO DESTROY MEXICAN-AMERICAN UNITY

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

•Brutal suppression by local police, particularly in Los Angeles and Denver, of Chicano antiwar protests (convicted Watergate burglar Frank Sturgis, acting as an agent of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, infiltrated the Chicano Vietnam Moratorium); and

•An order sent to the Justice and Labor Departments indicating former President Richard Nixon's "personal interest" in destroying the United Farm Workers (UFW) union.

"Operation CHAOS" was a special CIA unit created while the late President Lyndon B. Johnson was in office. Many of the entries in Gutierrez's file are marked "priority" or "eyes only" — CIA jargon for top secret — yet a study of the Raza Unida leader's files illustrates the wide range of government activities against the entire Chicano movement.

One CHAOS report describes a visit to Mexico in 1972 by a group that included Gutierrez and other Chicano activists, such as Reies Lopez Tijerina, leader of the land-grant movement in New Mexico; Arturo Sanchez of *La Raza* magazine in Los Angeles; Antonio Rodriguez, a *moviemiento* lawyer; Olga Villa from Notre Dame University; and Bert Corona, a leader in the undocumented workers — so-called "illegal aliens" — movement.

The CIA document stated that the delegation was going to hold "public gatherings" that would "create embarrassment for [then Mexican] President Echeverria."

Another CIA file obtained by Gutierrez discusses a report on a national convention of Raza Unida parties held in El Paso, Texas, in September, 1972. Particular passages were marked for special attention, such as the following:

"Gutierrez has achieved considerable publicity from the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party."





At the 1970 Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles police agents instigated a riot in which three people were killed.

Organized in the 1950's by Tijerina and others in northern New Mexico, the Alianza or land-grant movement grew into a mass movement by 1965. Its 1966 state convention drew 3,000 people.

DENOUNCING VIETNAM WAR

After the organization began publicly denouncing the war in Vietnam, New Mexico Senator Joseph Montoya, who considered Alianza to be a subversive movement, called for an FBI probe of the group.

In February, 1964, the district attorney in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, Alfonso Sanchez, wrote a letter to late FBI czar J. Edgar Hoover advising him that Alianza was "communistic" and should be investigated.

Writing in a later memo sent to the FBI, New Mexico Attorney General Stewart Hatch discusses Tijerina's growing influence:

"In personal conversation, 'T[ijerina] speaks approvingly of F. Castro's 'land reforms.' " Hatch alleged that the Chicano activist was a "potential danger to maintenance of order...and may be controlled by accused and possible actual communists."

The disproportionately high number of Chicanos who died in the Vietnam War led a group of Mexican-American activists in Los Angeles to organize against the war.

On August 29, 1970 between 20- to 40,000 people gathered in Los Angeles for the national Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam War. A massive police contingent assembled for the occassion brutally beat hundreds of people. Three Chicanos were killed.

The local news media and authorities claimed that the demonstration was a "riot." The Los Angeles mayor and city policemen said that "known communist agents" provoked the violence.

After the United Farm Workers won union status in California in 1970, federal interest in the group grew. A May, 1971, memo written to the Justice and Labor Departments and the National Labor Relations Board by then White House counsel Charles Colson — in which he said that Nixon had taken a "personal interest" in the UFW — also noted:

"Only if you can find some way to work against Chavez's union should you take action."

A second memo a year later written by Colson noted:

"We will be criticized if this thing gets out of hand and there is violence, but we must stick to our position. The Teamsters Union is now organizing in the area and will probably sign up most of the grape growers this coming spring, and they will need our support."

(See upcoming issues of THE BLACK PANTHER for more on the federal government's war against the Chicano movement.)□



Documents obtained by Chicano activist Jose Gutierrez have exposed efforts by federal police and intelligence agencies to destroy the Chicano movement.

F.B.I. Releases Hayden Files

(Washington, D.C.) - The FBI — under orders by late Director J. Edgar Hoover to "neutralize" antiwar activist TomHayden — conducted a 16-year investigation into Hayden's private and public life through January of last year, according to FBI documents.

The documents 7,000 pages of FBI files released to Hayden under the federal Freedom of Information Act, are among 18,000 pages the Bureau has admitted to keeping on Hayden. Hayden's attorneys are appealing in court to obtain the remaining files.

According to the released material:

The FBI was told five months before the start of the Chicago Seven conspiracy trial, in which Hayden was a defendant, that the defendants and their attorneys would likely be cited for contempt of court for statements they would make "during the trial." They were.

The FBI was "confidentially advised" of this by U.S. Attorney Thomas Foran, who prosecuted the case, after he met with trial Judge Julius Hoffman. No defense attorneys were present at the meeting, which occurred one month after Hayden and the other defendants were indicted.

TEACHERS DEMAND HIGHER WAGES

BLACK AND POOR CHILDREN SUFFER IN OAKLAND SCHOOL STRIKE

(Oakland, Calif.) - Several Black community representatives here called for an immediate end to the first teachers' strike in Oakland history, urging Black and minority parents to send their children to school at a press conference held last Monday.

Present at the press conference were: Rev. Michael Dunn, president of the United East Oakland Clergy; Larry Joiner of OCCUR (Oakland Concerned Citizens for Urban Renewal); Rev. J.L. Richards, president of the Baptist Ministers Union; NAACP Branch president Alphonso Galloway; George Holland of the Charles Houston Bar Association; and Hilda Mosely, a Black parent.

Over 2,800 teachers and other school personnel went on strike against the Oakland Unified School District — whose achievement levels rank among the lowest in the state — on Friday, November 4.

All of the participants in the press conference charged that Black children would be victimized the most by a sudden unwarranted break in their education.

A statement read by the group said:

"We the parents and adults of this school community have been told through the medium of demonstrations by teachers and the Board of Education, that our children and their education is not the most important priority to them.

"Therefore, we once again call



Citing low achievement levels, Black community representatives have called for an immediate end to the first teachers strike in Oakland history.



upon the Board of Education and the Oakland Education Association (OEA) to bring a speedy solution to the strike and settle their differences and get on with the business of educating our children."

This statement was supported by several other organizations and institutions, among them the New Oakland Committee, Children's Advocacy Center, the Muleskinners Democratic Club and the Oakland Community School.

The panel was particularly concerned with charges the striking teachers were attempting to intimidate students not to go to classes taught by substitutes. The Oakland Education Association, representing striking teachers, has asked that several schools be closed due to alleged disciplinary problems.

Ms. Mosely, who has five children in the Oakland schools, frankly commented, "The schools should be open.

"I look to what was happening before the strike, when our children couldn't read or write," Ms. Mosely added.

Rev. Dunn stressed that "our

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"SPEAK OUT II" — NOV. 19

Mikwaukee Schools' Ruling Denounced As "Racist"

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) - People United, a local, broad-based community group working for quality education, is mobilizing for its "Speak Out II" rally on November 19 in the wake of a recent federal appeals court ruling on school desegregation the group has denounced as racist and reactionary.

The Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals said the Milwaukee School Board should not be forced to continue to pay persons ordered by the court to oversee desegregation efforts here unless there was a new finding that the Board had un-Constitutionally segregated the schools. It further ordered that planning for Phase III of school desegregation should be discontinued.

Special Master John A. Gronouski, appointed by Judge John W. Reynolds to oversee and monitor desegregation of schools in Milwaukee, subsequently closed down his office. The monitoring board could continue to operate, Gronouski said, but on a volunteer basis.

Prior to the court ruling, People United for Integration and Quality Education held a press conference to announce its "Community Plan for Phase III."

Milwaukee's school desegregation plan went into effect two years ago and was divided into three phases. During Phase I, 7,328 Blacks were bused to outlying White schools, while only 985 Whites were transfered to inner city schools.

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Black mother taking children to school.

G.E.D. Class Cancelling Angers North Oakland

(Oakland, Calif.) - Personnel here at the North Oakland Branch Library are infuriated over the recent cancellation of an adult education class serving students with special needs.

Since last February, the Oakland Adult Evening School has sponsored a GED preparatory class at the library. The class was abruptly terminated last month. A GED (General Education Development) certificate is equivalent to a high school diploma.

Many of the students reside in halfway houses and other rehabilitation facilities in the area and thus, for various reasons, are unable to attend every class session. Due to this problem, class attendance sometimes drops below 15 students, the minimum that is allowed by the school district.

However, instructor Eva Clark insists that there was more than enough interest and participation in the class to justify its continuation. Connie Bostic, a rehabilitation counselor at the West Oakland Health Center, points out that most of the class members are referrals from the center's industrial therapy program, Trouble House.

"It (the GED class) has made our class more viable," explained Ms. Bostic.

Rhonda Edwards, director of Trouble House, explains, "The students are mostly people who for some reason or another weren't able to excel in school and something prevented them from graduating. Some were turned off by school. Now they are turned on."

"It all boils down to a matter of numbers," says Mrs. Clark, who is now volunteering her time to teach the class. "It is extremely unfair," she said, to discontinue a class of this kind on the basis of numbers.

Mrs. Clark went on, "The district did not consider that we started with nonreaders in February who can now read. People who couldn't add are now doing percentages."

One student, Ella Mae Knight, 49, summed up the feelings of her classmates.

Mrs. Knight said, "The class helps me better my condition. I went back to school because I was so far behind. If you can't pull your level up, you can't get a good job." □

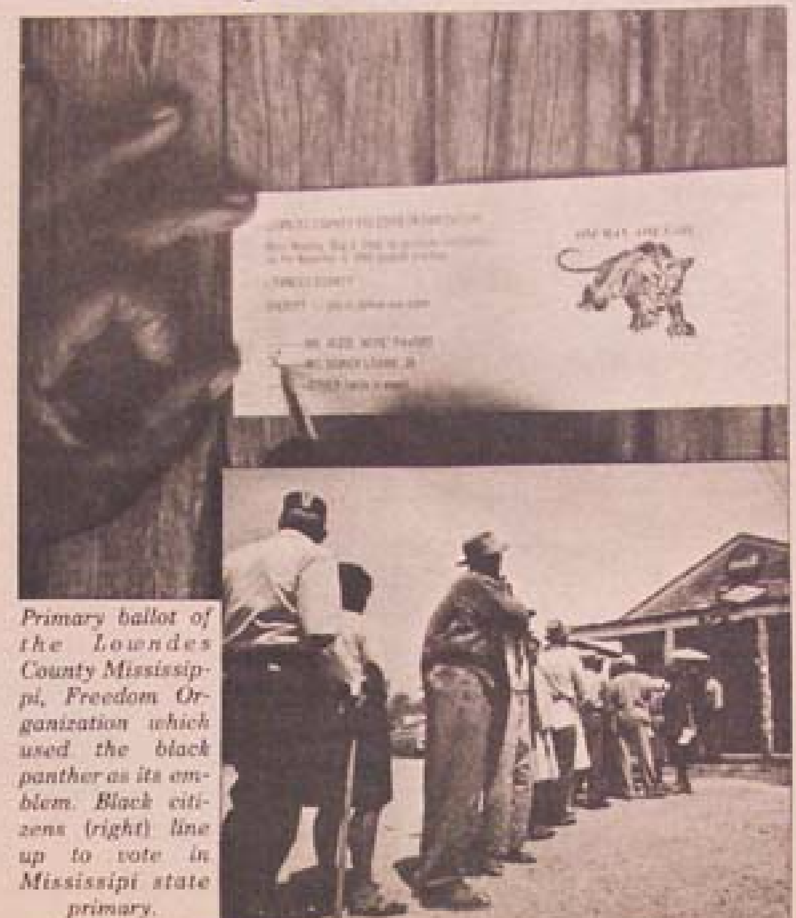
12 Years After Votings Rights Act

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Mayor A.J. Cooper of Prichard Alabama, the chairman of the National Conference of Black Mayors, says that Blacks lost some of their political zeal and drive after the initial election victories of the 1960's.

"After the sweet first flush," he contends, "Black folks suddenly discovered that politics is grinding work that requires tremendous organization. You have to find candidates, register voters, get them to turn out, then produce results that will please people whose expectations were probably unrealistically high to begin with. We can't just drift along crying, 'freedom! freedom!' "

Once in political office, Southern Blacks find that their troubles tend to increase rather than diminish. Where they take over from Whites, they seldom receive much help or advice from the outgoing administration. Their relative inexperience with government and bureaucracy makes it doubly difficult to make good on campaign promises.



Primary ballot of the Lowndes County Mississippi, Freedom Organization which used the black panther as its emblem. Black citizens (right) line up to vote in Mississipi state primary.

CONVENTION

When the National Conference of Black Mayors held its annual convention in Washington last weekend, much of the agenda was given over to workshops on such basic subjects as accounting procedures, management systems, federal grants and selecting and hiring consultants and contractors.

Nor does a Black political takeover always mean full control of a Southern city, town or county. Whites almost always retain economic power, which can rival political power.

Most Black elected officials in the South are not mayors. More typically, they are members of a White-controlled city council, county board or state legislature. This does not mean that most are totally without power. What it means is that most have become adept at picking the precise moment to withhold or grant support on issues that closely divide the White majority.

"That's the way you remind people of the Black presence, the way you pile up chips to cash in later for your pet project," said Edward McIntyre of Augusta, Georgia, a Black county commissioner who serves as president of the National Association of Minority County Officials.

In many Southern capitals, Black legislators have organized themselves into caucuses to further Black interests. The South Carolina caucus, though it constitutes less than 10 per cent of that state's legislative membership, recently provided the clout needed to push through a kindergarten program.

State Senator Julian Bond of Atlanta, one of the best known and most experienced Black politicians in the country, considers the caucuses a sign of growing political maturity among Black elected officials. He said recently that Black politicians at all levels — state, city and county — realize increasingly that patient, steady labor and shrewd compromise were the "nitty gritty" of success in the 1970's, not the confrontation and unyielding militancy of the 1960's.

What of the future of Black politics in the South?

There is concern among Black leaders that the Black vote may become fragmented and thus lose its importance in many areas. But no serious fragmentation has occurred thus far. The biggest trouble remains the relatively small number of Black elected officials in the region. Blacks register and vote almost as frequently as Whites. But they do not stand for office, as often. There are organizations, such as the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project, that encourage Blacks to register and vote. But there are few groups pushing Blacks to become candidates, particularly Blacks in out-of-the-way counties and towns.

"What we need to face up to," says Mayor Cooper, "is the fact that there is still a lot of drudgery and hard work ahead. We need to get up off our knees and get about our Father's work." □

Black Unemployment On Rise

(Washington, D.C.) - Unemployment among Black workers soared from 13.1 in September to 13.9 per cent in October, according to official government figures. Less than half the rate for Blacks, Whites joblessness has remained at 6.1 per cent for the past four months.

The nation's unemployment rate edged up from 6.9 to 7 per cent last month, "an unprecedented high level," according to Julius Shiskin, the commissioner of labor statistics.

The ratio of jobholders to total population among Whites rose to "a new all-time high" in October, says Shiskin, while "the Black ratio continues to fluctuate at historically low levels."

Unemployment among Black teenagers climbed to 37.9 per cent in October. The national jobless rate among teenagers is 14.8 per cent.

People's Perspective

America's Political Prisoners

(London, England) - 1977 Nobel Peace Pize winner Amnesty International (A.I.) declared last week that 18 prisoners in the U.S. have been jailed for their beliefs, origin or involvement with unpopular political groups. A.I. has written to California Governor Jerry Brown to request an inquiry of the beatings by guards at Ventura County Jail of Richard Mohawk and Paul Skyhorse, members of the American Indian Movement. A.I. is also investigating the cases of the Wilmington 10; Otis Johnson, sentenced to 17 years in jail for allegedly stealing $17 and a TV set in Texas in 1976; T.J. Reddy, a North Carolina Black activist sentenced to 20 years for arson in 1968; Eva Kutas, held at a federal half-way house in Oakland while completing a two-year term for conspiracy and harboring an escaped federal prisoner; Iman Obadele, president of the Republic of New Africa; and Gary Tyler, a 17-year-old Black youth who received the death sentence after being falsely accused of killing a White youth in Louisiana.

Kruggerand Sales Opposed

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) - The Milwaukee Common Council recently declared "its opposition to the apartheid White minority rule...of the government of South Africa, to the sale of the Kruggerand, a gold coin from South Africa that is being used to maintain the apartheid system, and to those Milwaukee area banks and business enterprises involved in the sale of the Krugerrand."

N-Bomb Go Ahead

(Washington, D.C.) - Congress last week gave President Carter authorization to go ahead with development of the neutron bomb and the cruise missile. The Senate passed a $476.4 million supplemental defense authorization bill and a $2.6 billion military energy authorization measure which also includes provisions for experimenting with a successor to the B-1 bomber.

Indian Woman Fights To Recover Property

(Yuka, Calif.) - A woman of Native American descent, Ginger Proctor Van Ostrand, was unjustly jailed here recently for attempting to recover property that was taken from her illegally.

The cities of Yuka and Siskiyou have a history of oppression against non-White people, dating back to the hundreds of Chinese people who died in slave labor camps in the latter part of the 1800's. Ms. Van Ostrand was jailed due to her attempt to recover property from her ex-husband Lloyd Proctor, who is a member of the county's White elite.

Proctor is tied in closely with state senator Randolph Collier, who is a prominent member of a group of White leaders known as the "Forty Thieves."

When Ms. Ostrand divorced her husband, she filed suit in May, 1974, to recover property from her ex-husband. Jointly they controlled extensive business holdings and Proctor used his influential ties to block Ms. Van Ostrand from getting her fair share. When she recently attempted to recover a car that they owned together and hold it until a

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FEDERAL JUDGE RAPS "MISGUIDED" C.I.A. POWER

HELMS FINED, GIVEN SUSPENDED SENTENCE IN CHILE COVER-UP





Former CIA Director RICHARD HELMS (top photo) and SALVADOR ALLENDE(left) in his last moments before CIA-planned coup in 1973.

(Washington, D.C.) - The Carter administration, in a Watergate-type cover-up of illegal U.S. intelligence activities, last week gave former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Director Richard Helms a mere two-year suspended sentence and a $2,000 fine for lying to a Senate committee about American intelligence operations in Chile.

The ex-CIA chief, who had threatened to "bring down" with him former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger if the Justice Department indicted him for a felony, was allowed to plead "no contest" for failure to answer the senators' questions "fully, completely and accurately as required by law."

Legally, pleading "no contest" is considered an admision of guilt. The charge is a misdemeanor. If Helms had been indicted for perjury, the charge would have constituted a felony.

Passing sentence on Helms, federal District Court Judge Barrington D. Parker harshly reprimanded the 64-year-old former CIA head: "You dishonored your oath and you now stand before this court in disgrace and shame."

misguided and ill-conceived notion and belief that there are earlier commitments and con-

Judge Parker continued with a severe attack on public officials who "embark deliberately on a course to disobey and ignore the laws of our land because of some misguided and ill-conceived notion and belief that there are earlier commitments and considerations which they must first observe."

Such actions, the judge noted, put "the future of the country in jeopardy."

Later, Helms' attorney, Bennett Williams, told reporters that Helms "is going to wear this conviction like a badge of honor."

Helms, the first former intelligence officer to be convicted of withholding information from a Congressional committee, said in a statement released after the November 4 sentencing that at the time of his Congressional testimony concerning covert operations in Chile, he felt bound by his oath as a CIA official "to protect intelligence sources and methods."

SENATE COMMITTEE

In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 17 and March 6, 1973, Helms was asked whether the CIA had tried, through financial and other means, to influence the 1970 election in Chile which brought Salvador Allende to power.

His answer on both occasions was an emphatic no. Later disclosures, however, proved beyond doubt that the spy agency had tried to keep Allende from getting elected and had funneled large sums of money into Chile through officials of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation.

Sturgis Linked To Kennedy Assassination

(New York, N.Y.) - Convicted Watergate burglar Frank Sturgis was arrested here last week for threatening to kill a former CIA agent who has publicly connected him with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Before the week was out, however, all charges were dropped.

Ex-CIA informant Maria Lorenz charged that Sturgis came to her New York apartment (where he was arrested) after repeatedly threatening to kill her unless she dropped her story of how she and Sturgis were part of the team that assassinated John F. Kennedy.

Press reports have said that Ms. Lorenz has told Congressional investigators that Sturgis had accompanied her, Lee Harvey Oswald and others on a car trip from Miami to Dallas just days before the killing of Kennedy on November 22, 1963.

Ms. Lorenz said the group were members of Operation 40, which was formed by the CIA to prepare for the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Ms. Lorenz says she was sent back to Miami two days before Kennedy was assassinated.

Sturgis has admitted that he took part in Operation 40, but denies he made that trip to Dallas with Ms. Lorenz. The Watergate burglar also denies ever meeting Oswald or having anything to do with the Kennedy assassination.

Sturgis had at one time fought alongside Fidel Castro in Cuba's revolutionary war but later defected to the CIA to engage in anti-Castro activities. Ms. Lorenz says she was recruited by Sturgis to kill Castro, which Sturgis admits. When she failed — the poison that was intended for

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KENNEDY debating NIXON before 1960 election and (right) Kennedy is assassinated in November, 1963.

My Tennis Partner Was A Police Spy

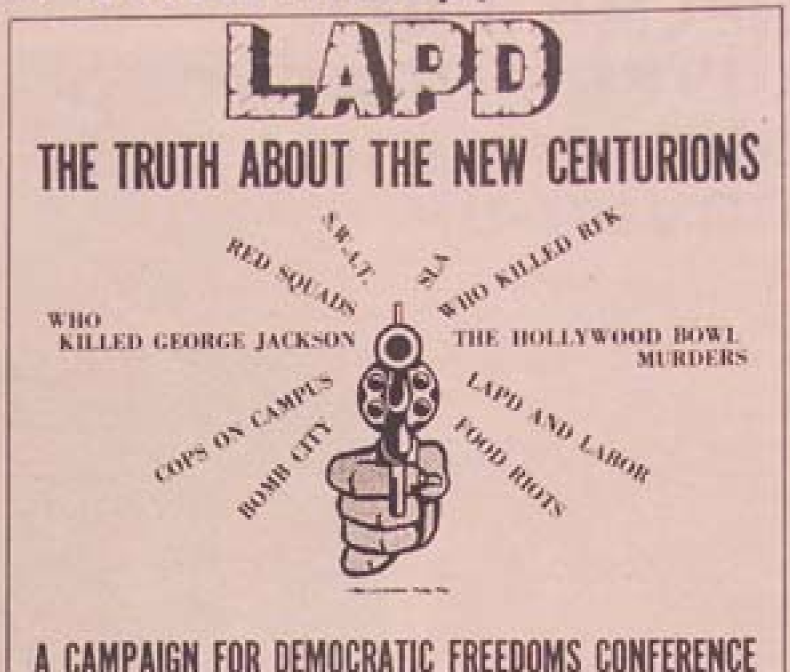
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leader and did not try to be.

Because she had an artistic bent, Connie often assumed responsibility for the leaflets advertising our teach-ins and conference on the LAPD. It was Connie's work.

It must be remembered that the Campaign for Democratic Freedoms was a legal, civil liberties organization. The group was established to expose police state practices of the LAPD, as well as the alphabet soup of federal offenders: FBI, CIA, NSA, DEA, IRS, etc.

The group existed for about 10 months in 1975. Its activities consisted of several teach-ins, appearances on local talk shows, a couple of nonviolent marches and petitioning before the Police Commission. I would love to hear the LAPD's justification for using tax money to infiltrate and spy on such a group.



Leaflet about the LAPD which was drawn up by police spy Connie Milazzo.

SUING

Members of CDF are discussing the possiblity of suing Connie and the LAPD for invasion of privacy. One of Connie's main projects was the assembly of a darkroom at CDF headquarters. She took pictures at many CDF functions.

Where are the photos now? In the "subversive" files of the LAPD? Have these photos been shared with the FBI?

Connie did not confine her "political" activities to L.A. In the summer of 1975, the CDF set up a sister organization in the Bay Area, and a major conference was held in Oakland in November. The two-day forum, "Conspiracy vs. Black America," was co-sponsored by the Black Panther Party. Camera-in-hand, Connie attended the conference. As an L.A. police employee, wasn't she venturing beyond her jurisdiction?

After CDF folded, Connie really began to circulate around the left in L.A. She was more confident now that she could use her association with CDF as a calling card when meeting other activists or groups. She attended meetings of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the L.A. Women's Union, and the L.A. *Vanguard* newspaper. She attended class at the socialist school run by the New American Movement. She was generous enough to contribute one month's dues to the National Lawyers Guild. Finally while working with the Progressive Labor Party, Connie's "leftist" career was terminated by a bust at the hands of her comrades in the blue.

Had we been more alert to certain contradictions in Connie's talk about herself, we might have been able to expose her in 1975.

The CDF member who was closest to Connie once asked her how she could keep up with rent payments, car repairs and law school tuition, when she wasn't working. Connie replied that she was receiving financial aid from a rich uncle, whom Connie strongly suspected of being connected to the Mafia.

RICH UNCLE

As it turns out, Connie does have a rich uncle — the LAPD.

I hope one day to bump into Connie for a friendly chat. She has temporarily disappeared. Two days before the *Times* reported that her cover had been blown, she packed up her belongings and moved, telling her landlord that she was getting married and that her fiance was taking a job "up north."

I'd like to ask Connie about her present employer. How does she feel about her boss, Chief Davis, who is proud to address a Birch Society banquet, but is afraid that his men will be contaminated by "germs" if forced to work with gays? What about an organization that can kill 30 unarmed citizens a year, and then lambast KABC-TV for raising the issue? How can she condone the LAPD's spying on such dangerous groups as the Beverly Hills Democratic Club?

Ultimately, I'd want to ask Connie whether she feels that activists on the left represent a bigger threat to "free society" than the ever-growing, anti-democratic elements in the LAPD, whose only response to criticism is to surveil its critics. □

Sturgis Linked To Kennedy Assassination

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Castro melted in a cold cream jar — Sturgis helped her escape from Cuba.

At one time Sturgis was the Cuban Air Force's chief of security but after his defection he became a double agent. Later in 1972, Sturgis was one of five men who were caught burglarizing the Democratic Party National Committee headquarters in Washington's Watergate complex. Sturgis pleaded guilty to this crime in 1973 and served less than a year in prison.

In court charges of attempted coercion and aggravated harassment against Ms. Lorenz were dropped against Sturgis, supposedly due to lack of evidence.

Evidence gathered concerning the Kennedy assassination points to the fact that more than one gun was used. Many believe Sturgis was the "second gun" in the Kennedy killing.

KENNEDY FILES

Meanwhile, in Washington, D.C., the FBI claims that it is preparing to make public its files on the murder of Kennedy. FBI officials said last week that the first segment of the 80,000-page file will be available this month while the remainder will become public in December.

Critics of the official version of the Kennedy assassination have sought the FBI files from the day that the Warren Commission made the false conclusion that Lee Harvey Oswald, acting alone, carried out the assassination. □

BEHIND THE WALLS

Assata Shakur Charges Dropped

(New York, N.Y.) - False charges of murder and robbery were recently dismissed against Black activist Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) when the New York Sate Supreme Court ruled that the state had taken too long in bringing her to trial. "People have Constitutional rights and you can't shuffle them around," said Justice John Starkey when he granted a defense motion for dismissal filed by William Kunstler and Lawrence Stern, Ms. Shakur's attorneys. The charges stemmed from an alleged hold-up of a Brooklyn social club in January, 1973. Ms. Shakur is now serving a life sentence in a New Jersey prison following her conviction on false charges of killing a state trooper on May 2, 1973. She had been brought to Rikers Island in New York prior to her hearing before the supreme court. Kunstler is attempting to prevent her return to New Jersey, where he described prison conditions as deplorable.

N.Y. Cops Indicted

(New York, N.Y.) - Two New York City policemen have been indicted for the beating of seven prisoners who were in a police van being transported from one precinct to another. Charged with six counts of felonious assault was officer Andrew Knott. His partner, William Hugonin, was charged with misconduct. The pair beat the prisoners while they were chained and handcuffed. After they were transferred from the 84th Precinct to the 77th Precinct, the seven prisoners were found lying injured on the floor of the van and had to be hospitalized. The district attorney and the police department's internal affairs unit were contacted and charges were filed against the officers. A third policeman is also being investigated in connection with the incident.

Va. Prison Strike

(Boydton, Va.) - Over 300 prisoners recently staged a work stoppage here at the Mecklenburg Correctional Center, demanding negotiations on 32 grievances. An investigation by the American Correctional Association (ACA) revealed that 31 of the 32 grievances were justified.



Arizona farm workers.

"LA MIGRA" ATTACKS

Border Patrol Steps Up Raids Against Striking Arizona Farmworkers

(El Mirage, Ariz.) - Striking farmworkers here in Maricopa County continue to be harassed by U.S. Border Patrol agents called in by powerful citrus farmers trying to break up the organized protest.

On October 19, 26 U.S. Border Patrol agents raided the outdoor camps of Mexican workers who pick lemons and orange trees on the large citrus plantations outside Phoenix.

Since the undocumented workers at Goldmar first stopped work in early October, the border police and the immigration agents have been swarming over the citrus ranches here in Maricopa County, arresting the striking workers and deporting them to Mexico.

On October 21, immigration police known as "La Migra" picked up fifty workers at the three ranches where there have been labor disputes — Bodines, Fletcher's and Goldmar (owned by Robert Goldwater, brother of Barry Goldwater).

With a vengeance the workers say they have never before witnessed, the Migra agents broke into the camps of the field hands, destroying their temporary shelters of plastic and canvas, ripping their clothes and blankets, and stomping on their meager supplies of food.

Jesus Barrios, an undocumented migrant from Huacatlan de Guadalupe, sorting through the remains of his camp in the groves of Bodine's Pleasant Val-

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SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

REPORT EXPOSES SERIOUS HEALTH CARE PROBLEMS AMONG CALIF. RURAL POOR

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A report issued recently by the University of California (U.C.) Medical Center here revealed that there is a "severe shortage" of doctors serving poor and minority people in the central San Joaquin Valley.

Three doctors from the U.C. Medical Center point out that the availability of medical care to the poor, minorities and farmworkers in the area is well below California standards. The San Joaquin Valley, with some of the most fertile land in the country, covers one-sixth of the area of California. It is equivalent in size to the state of West Virginia and has a population of 1,176,300.

A large percentage of the population is the farm labor force. Due to the grueling work and indecent, unsanitary living conditions they are forced into, many workers and their families face acute health problems.

When the child of a San Joaquin Valley farm worker needs a doctor, his or her parents are likely to experience one of these situations:

•Waiting an entire day in a clinic only to be told that the doctor cannot see the child.

•Driving the child to a doctor in Fresno, a trip of possibly 90 minutes.

•Waiting one to two months for an appointment with a Fresno doctor.





Farmworkers in the San Joaquin Valley (see map) suffer from an acute shortage of doctors.

•Not taking the child at all because the family lacks a car.

The doctors, Peter Abbott, Howard Corbus and David Werdegar, presented their 170-page report recently at a press conference at the San Francisco campus.

Among their findings:

•The ratio of doctors to residents in the seven-county area varies between one to 2,500 to one to 4,000 residents — a proportion one-third less than the statewide ratio. In affluent Marin County, by comparison, there are about 1,030 physicians for a population of 216,000, or approximately one doctor for every 200 people, according to U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare statistics.

•The valley's infant mortality rate is 15.8 per 1,000 as compared to 13., statewide.

•The central San Joaquin Valley needs anywhere from 450 to 730 doctors to bring it up to California standards.

•Among its 1,208 physicians, 20 per cent are age 65 or over, which, Werdegar warns, means that many are nearing retirement.

Among the additional penalties the doctor shortage imposes on patients is that they must obtain prime medical care from the emergency departments of hospitals. That, said Corbus, "is the most expensive kind of medical care that exists."

Such burdens, Abbott noted, fall most heavily on the poor, minorities and agricultural workers.

As to receiving a house call from a doctor, "It would be hard to get in those areas," said Werdegar.

The U.C. survey, begun at the behest of the legislature in 1974, discloses that the doctor shortage applies most critically to the areas around Firebaugh, Mendota, Coalinga, Avenal, Taft, Dos Palos, Los Banos and Gustine, and somewhat less to urban centers such as Fresno, Visalia, Merced and communities having their own hospitals.

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Blue Cross Strike Enters 7th Week





(Oakland, Calif.) - Blue Cross workers, represented by the Office and Professional Employees Union (OPEU), Local 29, are continuing their month-old strike despite a court order drastically limiting the number of pickets outside the firm's Northern California headquarters.

Over 1,100 workers, most of them women, walked out on Blue Cross when the health insurance company refused to budge in negotiations over demands centering around benefits and basic workers' rights.

Huey P. Newton Speaks At Pacific School Of Religion



BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON.

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don't know), but he could testify that the Oakland police/vice squad was attempting to set up pimps and prostitutes in order to frame me.

"We had a campaign against heroin in the community. Of course, this upset the people in the community who are pushing the heroin, so the police had a ready friend to use against us. Former Oakland [now San Francisco] police chief Charles Gain sent my attorney a tape that said that there was a contract on my life, I think in early 1974, and he said pimps and prostitutes were involved. Of course he left out the police, he left out one "p."

QUESTION: "The newspaper coverage the past few days has been just bizarre. For example, I read one article about your hearing in the *Daily Cal*, the U.C. Berkeley student newspaper, which mentioned contradictions in the testimony of one witness. Then I read an article the same day in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and all traces of the contradictions had been removed. What does the *Chronicle* have against you?

HUEY: "I think that it's larger than just a local paper or a national paper; the *New York Times* was not very good either. We can't view it in terms of whether it's a local paper or not. It's an established paper and it supports what it believes is the 'American way' and the American system. The *Daily Cal* is a little more liberal than that.

"But as long as there are people who want to maintain the kind of exploitative, repressive system in this country, this kind of distorted coverage will continue. For example, I believe RCA owns Random House, so if they are going to publish a book it has to be something that RCA likes.

"About 77 businesses control the whole economy of the United States, and really, the United States is probably the only country in the world where you do not really have a political government running the country. You have businesses running the country; then you have politicians as lackies to the business. There's no politician who can be elected by the Republican or Democratic Party without some cooperation from big business. This government cannot be run without the cooperation from Standard Oil and the other large businesses. So if the politicians necessarily need these giant businesses in order to be elected, in order for this country to run as it is, then the businesses are the mayors (we see the makers are always greater than that which is made).

"That's why the politicians do not have any power, and that is why we do not have any power, because big business is running the whole show. As far as I am concerned the *Chronicle* is just another big business. It is certainly not my friend."

QUESTION: "What are the Black Panthers doing now?"

HUEY: "We're very involved with our Oakland Community School. As you know, the Oakland Community School is not just a school. We attempt to make it a community center. One of the things that I experienced was, as the Cubans said, 'We live in the community and we sleep in our houses.'

"There are about 50 programs functioning out of our school. We open our doors to the elderly of the community. We plan a mini-market for the senior citizens, and we have a food give-away program. We also have the busing program to the prisons for people who have difficulty in seeing their loved ones in prison. There are numerous other programs, which help to create a very strong community center as well as a sense of community.

"In America, the idea of community has been destroyed, even among White people. I think America suffers because it lacks that comprehensive collection of institutions, where all of our needs and most of our desires can be fulfilled. A community is not a place where you can go: It is not a place where you are there for an hour; but it is a living place, where you can develop not only your life and expand upon that, but also a place for developing your children, who will really carry the banner to make America the kind of place that we would like it to be.

"Until America changes we will see the friction in the world growing. In many ways, the United States is like one big class — if you view it as a national area — one big class, the upper class of the world. Then you have the underclasses, Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the Third World. For an analogy, the Third World is the countryside, and the U.S. is like one big city. (We are like the small number of Whites that are in South Africa, surrounded by a lot of angry Black people.) In other words, we are a very small number of people, and if we go on antagonizing and taking advantage of everyone then I am afraid that the people of the world will be angry with all of us. They will not distinguish the progressives from the conservatives.

APPROACH

"I think that when we approach our campaign this next time, that we will approach it in a more realistic way. We will not approach it like a Cuban would approach a situation in Cuba, or as the people in the Soviet Union approached their revolution in 1917, but we will have to approach the American revolution of 1977 in a way consistent with the history of the United States, the technological developments of the United States, and the consciousness of the people here at this time. I think one of our big mistakes in the past was to use other places not only as a model but as a guide, so when we tried to talk to people and convert them — it is our duty to lift the consciousnes of everyone — we were talking a foreign language.

"We will have to have a home sprung ideology and be it socialist or whatever(sometimes I question whether we should use that term, America is so afraid of it, we could call it 'Yankee Doodle Dandy'), but as long as it gets rid of the poverty, as long as it gets full employment, as long as it gets rid of racism, that is what we want."□

Milwaukee Schools' Ruling Denounced As "Racist"

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Now, with the conclusion of Phase II only 972 Whites have been transfered to predominantly Black schools. Phase III planning called for a total of 14,014 Blacks to be bused to predominantly White schools.

The focus of protest in the Black community has been the demand for "two-way" instead of "one-way" busing in planning for Phase III, to eliminate the unequal burden which has been placed on the Black community.

People United harshly criticized the closing and failure to rebuild inner city schools, and the racist attitudes which have led to the extremely high rate of suspensions among Black pupils.

Meanwhile, "White flight" has skyrocketed after the Milwaukee public school system's first year of desegregation. The public school system has lost more than 9,800 White students since last year, the largest number ever.

Enrollment dropped to 101,934 this year. Since 1971, when public school enrollment reached a peak of 132,406, the school system has lost more than 30,000 students — a number equal to the highest enrollment ever reached in Madison.

In 1972 and 1973, the number of White students declined by about 6,000; in 1974, by 4,300; and in 1976, by over 6,300.

The decline in the number of White students and a corresponding increase in the number of Black students are changing the racial makeup of the city even as the enrollment goes down.

Over the last year, for example, the proportion of Black students in the city has risen from 36.9 per cent in 1976 to 40.3 per cent in 1977.□

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

Huey P. Newton

"Rebuilding"

As we continue with the chapter "Rebuilding" from Revolutionary Suicide, *Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton tells of the development of the Ideological Institute which served to strengthen the awareness of leading members in the Party. Also, the BPP president begins to become suspicious of the motives of Eldridge Cleaver.*

In the months after my release I traveled from city to city, meeting comrades and doing what I could to organize committees for Ericka and Bobby. In my travels I observed the work being done in dozens of communities and saw evidence that the Black Panthers had built a strong organization. But we needed to do more — much more.

We had the base now on which to construct a potent social force in the country. But some of our leading comrades lacked the comprehensive ideology needed to analyze events and phenomena in a creative, dynamic way.

We had tried to develop their understanding in political-education classes. Now we needed a structure, and after discussion in the Central Committee, we organized the Ideological Institute in Oakland in December, 1970. It was formed to train our more advanced comrades to observe and define phenomena along lines set down by the Black Panther Party.

I had thought a good bit since my release about new ideas and concepts, but I did not want to be, could not be, the only one developing ideas and programs. Given the opportunity, other comrades would be able to come up with imaginative programs and fresh solutions as they encountered changing conditions. This is essential for the advance of revolutionary thought.

The Ideological Institute has succeeded in providing the comrades with an understanding of dialectical materialism. About three hundred brothers and sisters attend classes to study in depth the works of great Marxist thinkers and philosophers.

Meanwhile, our efforts on behalf of Bobby and Ericka continued. On one of my trips to New Haven to prepare for the trial, I met Erik Erikson, the renowned author and professor of developmental psychology at Harvard. His son, Kai, a sociologist and master of Trumball College at Yale, thought it would be interesting for us to hold a series of discussions.

I agreed, and he arranged a three-day seminar in early February of 1971 at Yale University, in which two faculty members and fourteen Yale students — eight White and six Black — also took part. The discussions were held in the library of Yale University Press.

I liked Erikson very much, and we got along well despite some trouble communicating during the first two days of the seminar. At first we repeatedly talked past each other, and the students talked such madness that they impeded our conversation. They had come to hear revolutionary slogans and violent rhetoric and were not satisfied with anything less than absolute solutions to the problems besetting society.

The talks centered on Black Panther ideology, and Erikson saw the validity of the Black Panther approach. He pointed out that two people can love each other only when both have dignity. If one person is without dignity, then the relationship is something else.

Erikson noted that it is necessary to understand the complexity of all issues and all relationships. He brought many insights to our talks, drawing on his early days as a student of Freud and his studies of Gandhi and Martin Luther. Although there were moments of frustration, I think we both learned much from each other.

At the time of the Yale meeting with Erikson, my secretary was a Party member named Connie Matthews. Connie was from the West Indies, but she had migrated to Europe and lived for a time in one of the Scandinavian countries. She claimed to speak several languages fluently.



HUEY P. NEWTON talking with child at 1971 court session.

Connie had joined the Party after hearing Bobby Seale speak on one of his European trips, while I was still in prison. At first she stayed in Europe to organize groups there but later moved to our Algerian embassy under the direction of Eldridge Cleaver.

Less than two months after my release from prison, Eldridge sent her to Oakland to work out of Central Headquarters, where she was assigned to handle the details of my travel, speaking engagements, and the like. I found her somewhat unreliable and several times considered sending her back to Algiers, but Eldridge insisted she remain in Oakland.

In late 1970 she had married Michael "Cetawayo" Tabor, a Black Panther from New York and one of the twenty-one defendants in that circus the state called a conspiracy trial.

[On April 2, 1969, 21 New York Black Panthers were arrested and charged with conspiring to bomb several New York police stations and department stores, the New York Botanical Gardens, and the New Haven Railroad. Bail was set at $100,000 each, and the defendants spent 10 months in jail awaiting trial.

[On May 13, 1971, after a trial that lasted eight months, the 13 defendants who stood trial, including the two who fled to Algeria, were unanimously acquitted of all 12 counts of the indictment.]

Cetawayo was an effective organizer and a good speaker, but he had suffered through some heavy drug and prison scenes. He fell completely under Connie's spell.

When the meetings with Erikson came to an end, Connie and Cetawayo disappeared, taking many of my personal papers with them. Of course, when Tabor jumped bail, this placed the other New York 21 in jeopardy, but more than that, I was puzzled about where they might have gone.

Connie was not a citizen and would have trouble staying in the United States; Cetawayo was a fugitive who could not travel easily outside the country unless he went to Cuba or Algiers. I did not think they would go to Cuba — they were not hard workers — and if they went to Algiers they would be right in our hands.

But the Algerian possibility started me thinking. After considering the alternatives, I began to suspect that something was wrong between Eldridge Cleaver in Algiers and the Central Committee of the Party in Oakland. But I said nothing; without enough evidence to be certain, I decided to wait and see.

In the meantime, a big rally was planned for Oakland on March 5, 1971, to kick off a large-scale effort in support of all political prisoners, with the main focus on the trial of Bobby and Ericka in New Haven.

The rally, called the Intercommunal Day of Solidarity, was scheduled for the Oakland Auditorium. Its keynote speaker would be Kathleen Cleaver, with musical entertainment provided by The Grateful Dead and The Lumpen, a Black Panther group whose primary purpose was not entertainment but political education through music and song. We wanted to attract a broad cross-section of the Bay Area community. **TO BE CONTINUED**

Samora Machel in Cuba

"WE ARE SURVIVORS WHO TODAY CELEBRATE BREAKING THE CHAINS"





FIDEL CASTRO



SAMORA MACHEL

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, when ever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Intercommunal News

MOZAMBICAN LEADER, FIDEL CASTRO SIGN PACT OF COOPERATION

PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL GREETED BY THOUSANDS IN CUBA

(Havana, Cuba) - Mozambican President Samora Machel's recent highly successful state visit here resulted in a new commitment of firm support by the Cuban people for the armed liberation struggle against the White minority regime of Rhodesia.

Cuba was the final stop by President Machel on his Caribbean tour, which included visits to the progressive countries of Guyana and Jamaica. President Machel signed joint communiques of solidarity with Guyana's Prime Minister Forbes Burnham and Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley.

Arriving here for a five-day visit on October 9 on a flight from Kingston, Jamaica, the revered FRELIMO leader was greeted with a firm embrace from Cuban Premier Fidel Castro and the cheers of thousands of enthusiastic Cubans at Havana Airport.

The Cuban people feel particularly close to Mozambique since both their governments are committed to uplifting the quality of life within a socialist framework. Fidel Castro has the highest respect for President Machel, whom he described as a "capable, brilliant man, whose life is dedicated to his people."





FIDEL CASTRO embraces SAMORA MACHEL upon his arrival in Cuba. The Mozambican president was very warmly received by the Cuban people (left) during his recent state visit.

Since Fidel's visit to Mozambique last March, the Cuban government has indicated its desire to continue and even increase civilian aid to the former Portuguese colony. A week before President Machel's arrival, nearly 1,000 Mozambican children began studies in the Caribbean republic.

A 20-year friendship and cooperation treaty between the two governments was signed at the conclusion of President Machel's visit. The pact calls for economic, technical and scientific cooperation by Cuba and Mozambique and both nations pledged to "combine their efforts for the construction of socialist society."

The senior FRELIMO delegation, which included Mozambican Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano and Commerce and Industry Minister Mario de Graca Machungo, toured various sites throughout the island of Cuba, particularly those of historical importance to the Cuban Revolution.

Among the sites visited were the monument where the yacht "Granma" is on display; the large Alamar Housing Development; and the Jose Marti Pioneer Children's Camp.

President Machel and Premier Castro went for a boat ride with several children at the camp. The children cheered their visitors and gave them neckerchiefs that

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P.A.C. SPEECH

"The End To White Minority Rule Can Only Come Through Violence"

The following is Part 4 of a speech by Potlako K. Leballo, acting president of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania, delivered at the U.N.-sponsored World Conference Against Apartheid held in Lagos, Nigeria, August 22 to 26, 1977.

PART 4

Ignoring the Azanian people and their liberation movement's clear stand that the struggle is not simply a civil rights one but a fight for the seizure of political power by the rightful owners of the land, the African people, the imperialists are hatching plots to step up upward mobility for a handful of middle-class Africans in preparation for a mock sharing

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Azanian woman winces in pain after being shot by South African police.

KEY ENEMY BASE DESTROYED

Z.I.P.A. GUERRILLAS KILL 850 RHODESIAN TROOPS

(Maputo, Mozambique) - Freedom fighters of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), the military wing of the Patriotic Front, killed some 850 Rhodesian enemy troops in the first six months of 1977, *Zimbabwe News* reports.

The latest edition of the magazine, which is the official organ of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) — a co-member of the Patriotic Front — also describes in detail ZIPA's destruction of a key enemy base at Nyamapanda. The base was a notorious torture chamber where many Zimbabwean civilians were murdered.

"Chimurenga War Communique No. 13" declares that, "The revolutionary armed struggle against the racist terrorist armed gangsters of the [Ian] Smith regime has entered a final and decisive phase."



Zimbabwean freedom fighter.

The communique goes on to state that ZIPA military operations have extended into well over two-thirds of Rhodesia, an area with a population of over four million Zimbabweans, and that new operational areas are daily being opened up.

From January through May of this year, ZIPA guerrillas carried out 61 surprise attacks against the enemy; 35 ambushes; 65 sabotage operations; and over 50 raids.

The ZIPA attack on Nyamapanda base took place on April 27, 1977. Over 50 Rhodesian troops were killed and hundreds wounded.

Nyamapanda was destroyed by ZIPA liberation forces, according to *Zimbabwe News*, because it was the largest enemy base in the northeastern operational area and was a "major springboard" for Rhodesian troops' frequent and unprovoked raids into neighboring Mozambique.

Also included in the *Zimbabwe News* is an article on the trip made in June by Robert Mugabe, secretary general of ZANU and co-leader of the Patriotic Front, to the People's Republic of China.

Invited by the Chinese government, Mugabe led a seven-member delegation, including four ZANU Central Committee members, that visited China from June 20 to 29. The ZANU leader held talks with Chairman Hua Kuo-feng as well as other Chinese government officials concerning the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and international issues.

Other articles featured in the *Zimbabwe News* include a report on the United Nations conference in support of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia held in Maputo, Mozambique, from May 16 to 21 of this year; the complete text of Mugabe's speech at the Maputo conference; the ZANU secretary-general's address at the Anti-Apartheid Conference held in Lisbon, Portugal, this past June; and an expose on Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, the discredited former leader of ZANU.

In an editorial entitled "Smiths Inevitable Doom" the *Zimbabwe News* points out:

"The intensification of the armed struggle by the ZIPA forces...has deepened the contradiction in the enemy camp. The mighty ruling Rhodesia Front has become an empty shell.

"The immediate task of the revolutionary forces in Zimbabwe...is to escalate the contradiction within the enemy camp, to intensify resolutely the war of national liberation, to maintain and deepen the unity of all the democratic forces in the country;

"To mercilessly expose and deal ruthlessly with counterrevolutionaries and reactionary forces and to intensify diplomatic activities so as to win more friends internationally."□

Africa In Focus

Namibia

(Windhoek, Namibia) - The South African government announced last week that its troops killed 61 guerrillas of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in a 36-hour battle along the 800-mile-long border between Namibia and Angola. A communique issued by the White minority regime alleged that South African troops fought an 80-person SWAPO force and reached the Namibian freedom fighters' "most northern base" in Angola before retreating. The fighting, which South Africa claimed took the lives of only five of its troops, was the heaviest reported in the 10-year-old armed liberation struggle waged by SWAPO for Black majority rule in Namibia.

Rhodesia

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - A guerrilla force of 26 crossing into Rhodesia from Zambia was killed by Rhodesian security forces last week, the White minority government reported. The government statement said that a 22-hour battle took place but did not specify when or where the heavy fighting occurred. It is not known whether the guerrillas were troops of the Zambian government or Zimbabwean freedom fighters of the Patriotic Front. Zambia is one of the five frontline states in southern Africa backing Black majority rule in Rhodesia. Meanwhile, in another incident last week, a rocket fired from Zambia by guerrillas destroyed the swank $2.4 million Elephant Hills Country Club on the Zambezi River at Victoria Falls.

Rhodesia

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - Talks between the Patriotic Front and a top British military official ended here after one hour last week, following the Front's denunciation of the proposed role of the commissioner-designate under the U.S.-Anglo "peace" plan. Co-Front leaders Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo met with Field Marshal Sir Michael Carver, and Nkomo said that the Briton would have powers during the six-month interim period prior to elections in Rhodesia "that no person on this globe has ever had."

U.N. Imposes Arms Embargo On South Africa

(United Nations, N.Y.) - Declaring that "...the acquisition by South Africa of arms and related material constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security," the United Nations Security Council last week voted a permanent arms embargo on the White apartheid regime.

The unanimous vote, taken by the 15 members of the Council in retaliation for South Africa's recent crackdown on Black political protest, was the first time in the world body's 32-year history that it has applied mandatory sanctions against one of its members.

Under the U.N. Charter, all 148 other member nations are required to abide by the sanctions. While there are no formal penalties for violations, offending nations themselves could be subject to sanctions.

The Council action, sought by the 49 Black-ruled African members of the U.N., was taken under the first and third articles of Chapter VII of the Charter. The first article allows the Security Council "to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression...[and to] decide what measures shall be taken..."

The third article of Chapter VII gives the Council the power to "decide what measures...are to

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PLAN TO ABOLISH PASSBOOKS CALLED A "TRICK"

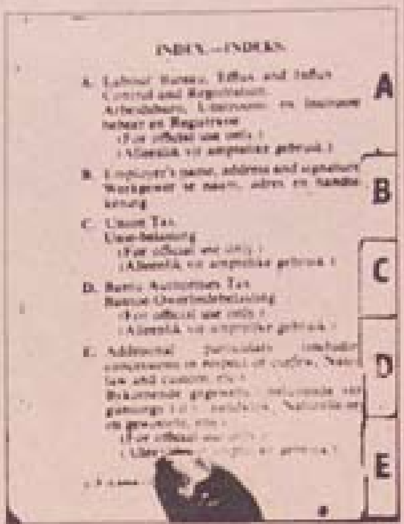
(Johannesburg, South Africa) - A proposal by the South African government whereby passbooks would be abolished and the tribal "homelands" given the responsibility for issuing identification papers for Blacks was denounced last week by Black leaders as a devise to give the reactionary tribal chiefs more power.

Announcing the plan following a November 3 meeting with six "homeland" chiefs, "Prime Minister" John Vorster also said that Black men living in urban areas will be allowed to bring their wives and families to live with them, provided they have the proper housing.

The apartheid system has long been criticized for promoting enforced separation of Black families. An estimated two million Azanians (Black South Africans) flout the policy, living as families outside the "homelands."

Under the so-called "liberalization" of the passbook system, Azanians would no longer be required to carry the hated passbooks but would still be subjected to the repressive laws that severely restrict their movements in "White" or urban areas of the country.

"There's no cause to be happy," said Baldwin Mudau, the opposition leader in Venda, one of the nine "homelands" in South Africa. Charging that the



proposal is meant to benefit the tribal chiefs instead of the people in general, Mudau added:

"The chiefs are power hungry, and with this new arrangement they will soon be throwing their weight about."

Passbooks, which all Azanians 16 and over are required to carry, contain details verifying a person's identity, such as a photograph, residential permit stamps, employers' signatures, tax certificates and driver's licenses.

The South African government maintains that all 18.6 million Azanians are citizens of their rural "homelands" although nine million live in the country's large urban centers. Any Azanian can be "endorsed out" or sent back to his or her "homeland" if that person loses employment or is found to have violated passbook



Black leaders in South Africa have denounced a reactionary plan which would abolish South African passbooks and give tribal chiefs more power.

regulations.

Vorster's statement said that Blacks who live in the cities would, in the future, find it easier to move between administrative districts once the "homelands" begin to issue identification papers.

The announcement was unclear on several points, including the question of whether those who possess the new "homelands" documents will face penalties for failing to produce them on demand by the police. Officials later said that the requirement would continue since it enables the government to curb "illegal" migration.

Azanians who live permanently in "townships" near the cities will be excluded from the proposed plan, which must be approved by the South African Parliament and the "homeland" administration.

The *Rand Daily Mail* indicated that incentives, such as preference in jobs and housing, would be provided to Black urban dwellers who choose to surrender their passbooks and take "homeland" documentation.

Tribal chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the Kwazulu "homeland," the largest in South Africa, boycotted last week's talks held by Vorster. The Zulu chief had previously denounced the plan as a "trick" to make the "homeland" leaders responsible for enforcing restrictions imposed by the White apartheid regime.□



Azanian gold mine workers.



South African Gold Mines Dark And Satanic

(Welkom, South Africa) - Several times a week a Douglas DC-4 lumbers down a runway outside this wind-swept mining town on the first leg of a journey that terminates, for the payload, in vaults as far afield as Jidda and Fort Knox.

Aboard is a shiek's ransom in gold, a ton or more at a time, on its way from the 10 working mines in the Welkom area to a refinery outside Johannesburg, 140 miles to the northeast, where the last impurities are removed before it is sold abroad.

The sight of five million dollars worth of gold being loaded onto an aircraft stirs the most jaded hand. Mechanics and charter pilots pause as policemen with submachine guns and Alsatian dogs oversee the transfer.

It is a particularly arresting event, too, for those who have seen how the enterprise begins.

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Black Children Suffer In Oakland School Strike

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

children need each day of school and need the encouragement of everyone to go to school."

Dunn also challenged the OEA, proposing that "if the teachers are concerned about our children, they should set up alternative schools while the strike continues."

"It's one thing for the teachers to go on strike," said Alphonso Galloway, "but when they stand in the way of our children's education we have to take a stand."

Galloway urged the school board "to work extremely hard, around the clock, to resolve all the issues and settle the strike."

At the present time the striking teachers and the Oakland School Board are far apart on the negotiating table. The teachers are demanding a 10.5 per cent pay raise while the district is offering only six per cent.

The OEA is also asking for what they call "teacher rights," in addition to the wage hike and reductions in class sizes. These rights include binding arbitration of some disputes, a structured promotion policy, teacher preparation periods and a greater voice in decisions regarding certain class days.

Negotiations had begun in June, with the district offering 3.5 per cent and the OEA teachers demanding 15 per cent. The board's last offer was for a six per cent wage increase, 1.2 per cent increase for health and welfare benefits and a 1.2 per cent additional pay raise at a later date.



"If striking teachers are concerned about our children, they should set up alternative schools while the strike continues."



As the strike continues the district is losing badly-needed state funds which are determined by the number of children in attendance at the school. This could result in a lengthening of the school year.

Attendance is now 60 per cent of the normal, reports the *Oakland Tribune*. Some of the students attending school have found their classroom doors locked.□

World Scope

Israel

(United Nations, N.Y.) - The U.N. General Assembly recently adopted a resolution urging Israel to desist from establishing settlements in occupied Arab territories. The resolution also declared the illegal settlements a serious obstruction to peace in the Middle East.

U.S.

(Peking, China) - The U.S. dollar has continued its downward movement in Western foreign exchange markets since the end of September, reports the Chinese daily *Hsinhua*. In Tokyo, Japan, last month, the dollar hit a new post-war low and has slipped on most European money markets. Huge trade deficits since the beginning of this year are the direct cause of the slump, reports *Hsinhua*.

Hawaii

(Honolulu, Hawaii) - Kahoolawe, smallest of the eight main Hawaiian Islands, has recently become a rallying point for thousands of Hawaiians protesting its continued use as a target-practice range by the U.S. Navy and Marines and its illegal occupation by the U.S. Last February, Marines scoured the island — pockmarked by bomb craters and a dangerous minefield strewn with 10,000 tons of unexploded shells — tracking, locating and forcing the surrender of a group of Hawaiians who had eluded them for 35 days. Members of the Hawaiian activist group Ohana (Tribes) were found guilty by a federal judge of trespassing on federal property.

O.P.E.C.

(Vienna, Austria) - The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) met here last week to prepare for a ministerial meeting next month at which the 13-nation group is expected to raise the price of oil five per cent. The price increase comes in the face of stiff opposition from the U.S. and other industrialized oil importing countries who had pressured OPEC for an oil price freeze through 1978.



Some of the earliest photographs of Black slaves in America.

RETURN TO MY HOMELAND

...my Negritude is not a stone, its
deafness a sounding board for the
noises of the day
my Negritude is not a mere spot of
dead water on the dead eye of
the earth
my Negritude is no tower, no cathedral

it cleaves into the red flesh of the
teeming earth
it cleaves into the glowing flesh of
the heavens
it penetrates the seamless bondage of
my unbending patience

Hoorah for those who never invented
anything
for those who never explored anything
for those who never mastered anything

but who, possessed, give themselves up
to the essence of each thing
ignorant of the coverings but possessed
by the pulse of things
indifferent to mastering but taking the
chances of the world...

Listen to the white world
its horrible exhaustion from its
immense labors
its rebellious joints cracking under
the pitiless stars
its blue steel rigidities, cutting
through the mysteries of the
flesh
listen to their vainglorious conquests
trumpeting their defeats
listen to the grandiose alibis of their
pitiful floundering

But in so doing, my heart, preserve
me from all hate
do not turn me into a man of hate of
whom I think only with hate
for in order to project myself into
this unique race
you know the extent of my boundless
love
you know that it is not from hatred
of other races
that I seek to be cultivator of this
unique race...

for it is not true that the work of man
is finished
that man has nothing more to do in the
world but be a parasite in the world
that all we now need is to keep in step
with the world
but the work of man is only just
beginning
and it remains to man to conquer all
the violence entrenched in the recesses
of his passion
and no race possesses the monopoly of
beauty
of intelligence, of force, and there
is a place for all at the rendevous
of victory.......

—By Aime Cesaire

Arms Embargo

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

be employed to give effect to its decisions...these may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations...''

The three-pronged resolution:

•Orders all countries to ''cease forthwith'' sending South Africa any arms, ammunition, military vehicles and equipment or spare parts;

•Calls on all states to review, ''with a view to terminating them,'' existing contracts and licenses with the apartheid regime for manufacture of arms there and to refrain from any further licensing arrangements; and

•Forbids any cooperation with South Africa to help it develop nuclear weapons.

[Earlier in the week, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Andrew Young declared that America would not impose a ban on the shipment of nuclear fuels to South Africa.

In a television interview, the Black diplomat said that while he might personally favor an embargo on nuclear exports to the apartheid regime as a means of pressuring the White minority government to change its repressive policies, ''Things have gove too far for that to be a realistic possibility.''

Young explained that the U.S. is unclear as to the extent of South Africa's nuclear capability and that to end its 20-year policy of cooperation in nuclear technology — which is allegedly non-military — ''would only encourage separate development of South Africa's own nuclear potential.'']

The November 4 vote came four days after the U.S. and four other Western powers vetoed three Security Council resolutions sought by African nations that would have imposed strict economic and arms sanctions against the White minority government in South Africa.



U.N. Security Council affirming South African arms embargo.

DEFEATED RESOLUTION

One of the defeated resolutions would have imposed a ban on investments and loans to South Africa and an end to government encouragement of trade with the White supremacist regime. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

South Africa is America's major trade partner, and the Carter administration is firmly opposed to any form of economic sanctions against its commercial ally.

U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, who termed the Security Council action ''an historic occasion,'' is to report back to the body no later than May 1, 1978, on the progress made in carrying out the arms sanctions.

It is widely felt that the U.N. action will have little or no effect on South Africa since it produces at least 70 per cent of its own arms, from guns and ammunition to armored cars, jeeps, trucks, heavy artillery and surface-to-surface missiles. The Western powers also believe that the White minority government is capable of producing nuclear weapons.

The arms embargo is expected to hit most hard at France, considered South Africa's major supplier of sophisticated weaponry, such as jet planes, submarines and missile-equipped patrol boats.

Israel has sold small arms and patrol boats to the apartheid state and has given South Africa licenses to manufacture Uzi submachine guns and patrol boats.

Since 1963, the U.S., Britain, West Germany and Canada have observed a Security Council resolution calling for a voluntary arms embargo against South Africa. The U.S., however, has continued to supply some spare parts and civilian equipment with potential military uses to South Africa, and President Carter announced last week that U.S. sales of C-130 cargo planes and spare parts will end.□

''The End To White Minority Rule Can Only Come Through Violence''

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

of power with ''moderate Whites.'' To achieve this they are even ready to dump Vorster; the ''confrontation'' between Vorster and the United States Vice President Walter Mondale in Vienna, last May, speaks for itself.

Encouraging ''moderate'' Whites to go along with the Western plan, Mrs. Helen Suzman of the Progressive Reform Party commented: ''It is when America and the West write us off as a hopeless case that we should start worrying.'' At the center of this maneuver is the strategy to undermine Azania's seasoned liberation movement and promote bantustan puppets and the like as ''representatives'' of the Black people.

To achieve their objective the imperialists will spare no effort to frustrate and sabotage the armed struggle which the Azanian liberation movement is now building up inside the country. The growing chorus for a ''peaceful solution'' in Western circles is deliberately orchestrated for this purpose. The objective of Western imperialism has not changed to deny the oppressed African majority genuine independence and freedom.

And so, much as the conditions have developed favorably for a people's war in Azania in the past year, there lie ahead great obstacles to be overcome. At home, where the people are catching all the hell, unity is central in all action. No genuine patriot can dare go against the well substantiated and pronounced will of the people for the closing of ranks in the face of the common enemy.

It is the armed struggle which is the key to victory for the struggling masses in Azania, just as it was armed struggle which triumphed over imperialism and local reactionaries in Algeria, Angola, Cambodia, China, Cuba, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Vietnam. To discharge its duty judiciously to the people of Azania, the international community, through a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, has to uphold in unequivocal terms the right of the Azanian people to take up arms to fight for their liberation.

The United Nations must follow the example of the Organization of African Unity and grant full observer status to the Azanian national liberation movement.□

TO BE CONTINUED

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Jamaica

(Washington, D.C.) - The CIA last year planned three attempts to assassinate Jamaica's progressive prime minister, Michael Manley, *Penthouse* magazine reported last week. Responding to the *Penthouse* disclosure, Manley said he was aware of U.S. plots to kill him ''...when we asserted our position toward multinational corporations in Jamaica, and toward Cuba and our position as a member of the Third World.'' *Penthouse* said the assassinations were ordered after Manley rejected an ultimatum from then Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to end his support of Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

Argentina

(Buenos Aires, Argentina) - Thousands of Argentine workers joined a nationwide strike for higher pay last week in what observers called the worst labor unrest here since the ouster of President Isabel Peron 19 months ago. The ruling military junta arrested dozens of labor leaders.

Mexico

(Mexico City, Mexico) - The government-owned airline Aero Mexico was forced to suspend all flights last week after ground workers struck for higher wages. Service to Mexico by four other airlines — Eastern, Nicaraguan, Pan American and Varig — already had been shut down by striking ground workers.

Nicaragua

(Foster City, Calif.) - Two prominent Nicaraguans living in the U.S. both accused by President Anastasio Samoza of plotting antigovernment activity, recently declared that the 41-year-old Somoza dynasty is toppling under ''unprecedented public opposition'' led by the popular forces of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Architect Casimiro Sotelo and Catholic priest Miguel d'Escoto were accused along with 10 other well-known Nicaraguans of being part of a Marxist plot to overthrow the government, after an appeal by the 12 was published in *La Prensa*, the nation's leading newspaper, calling on ''all conscientious Nicaraguans'' to unite in opposition to ''the repressive forces of the dynastic government.''

SPORTS BRIEFS

C.B.S. Admits False Advertising

(Washington, D.C.) - CBS Sports President Robert Wussler admitted false advertisement in the network's promotion of its 1975-76 "Heavyweight Championship of Tennis" challenge matches won by Jimmy Connors before a House subcommittee which ended a two-day inquiry last week into scandalous dealings between the three major television networks and organized sports. The round-robin tournament was billed as a $250,000 "winner-take-all" contest in paid newspaper and magazine ads taken out by CBS and in some on-the-air references during the matches. However, the network later revealed to the Federal Communications Commission that, win or lose, Connors was guaranteed $500,000 for his March 6 match against Ilie Nastase, who was guaranteed $150,000. Wussler, testifying before the communications subcommittee of the House Commerce Committee, said that the other players — John Newcombe, Manuel Orantes and Rod Laver — also were guaranteed substantial sums as "appearance money," or as compensation for earnings they would forego by participating in the matches.

James Spence, *ABC Sports* vice-president for program planning, testified last November he approached Johnny Majors, then coach of the top-ranked University of Pittsburgh football team led by Heisman Trophy winner Tony Dorsett, to urge that Pitt accept a bid to play in the Sugar Bowl, for which ABC held television rights. At the same time, Spence acknowledged discussing with Majors the possibility of broadcasting the upcoming November 13 regular-season game between Pitt and West Virginia.

Reggie Jackson Cleared

(New York, N.Y.) - New York Yankee outfielder Reggie Jackson last week was found not guilty of charges of harassing a 14-year-old White youth in the parking lot at Yankee Stadium following the All-Star game July 19. Chris Howe falsely accused Jackson of "stomping" him on the right wrist and causing a half-inch cut as a result.

BLACK TENNIS STAR ARTHUR ASHE COMMENTS ON APARTHEID

SOUTH AFRICA'S "NEW" SPORTS POLICY IS A FRAUD

The following commentary is by noted Black tennis star Arthur Ashe. Although Ashe in the past has been severely criticized by Black Americans and Black South Africans for not supporting the international sports boycott against the apartheid state, it now seems that he is beginning to see through the rhetoric and lies surrounding its so-called "new" sports policy. The commentary is excerpted from a longer article which appeared in the October 2, 1977, edition of the New York Times.



When ARTHUR ASHE tried to buy tickets to a South African soccer game for these five children with him, he was refused.

Last November (1976), I had lunch with Tsietsi Mashinini, the then 19-year-old militant Black student from South Africa who spearheaded the "children's demonstration" in Soweto the previous June. I have been trying to help build a tennis complex in Soweto, and Mashinini, in exile in London, politely told me: "We [Black South Africans] don't want tennis courts. We want our land back."

Five months later, as part of an ABC-TV documentary on "Sports in South Africa," I talked at length with Dr. Piet Koornhof, South Africa's minister of health, education and sport. He explained at length the "new" sports policy pronounced in September, 1976, whereby, if a province (state) allowed, mixed sport — Blacks and Whites on the same team — was permissible down to club level. The new policy was meant to keep South Africa in international sport while remaining in the domestic framework of "separate development" — the racial separation policy of apartheid.

THREE BLACK CRITICS

The following day, I spoke with three respected Black critics of Koornhof's new'sports' policy — Hassan Howa, Norman Middleton and M.N. Pather. All denounced the new formula as a fraud and compared it to crumbs handed out to the natives to appease them.

En route to South Africa, we talked with Dr. Abraham Ordia, the president of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa. Ordia had masterminded the 1976 Montreal Olympic boycott of Black African nations to protest the presence of New Zealand, which had allowed its rugby team to play in South Africa.

The Supreme Council announced late in 1976 that Black African nations would, as at Montreal, boycott any athletic contest that included athletes from South Africa or nations that played against South Africa. The Supreme Council backed down when the United States played South Africa in a Davis Cup finals match this year in Newport Beach, California.

Where does this put South African sport, specifically South Africa's domestic sport and its sporting ties with the rest of the world? Mashinini, Howa, Middleton, Pather and Ordia don't care if mixed sport comes to South Africa at the grassroots level. They want their country back; Whites legally own 87 per cent of the land while being less than 20 per cent of the population.

True, the first mixed soccer league is functioning, but none of the games are being played at Black stadiums. Though Koornhof has opened the door to voluntary mixed sport at the club level, the African Affairs "Minister," Mr. Botha, won't issue permits, claiming they sometimes contravene the Group Areas Act, which keeps the races apart.

The one "mixed" soccer game we went to film turned out to be an all-Black team playing an all-White team. Asked why the White team had no African players, a White player replied, "The African chaps need more training; they are not good enough yet" (the Whites won, 3-0).

He didn't mention the atrocious training facilities for Blacks, nor that the government spent little on "non-White" sports.

I was even refused tickets when I tried to buy five for South African kids who recognized me. It seems I stumbled by mistake upon the "White" ticket window. How was I deluded? The brochure advertising the game stating in bold print: "Equal facilities for all." That's why we went to the game — to see this new equality.□

South African Gold Mines

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

In the mines a few miles away there is none of the romance that traditionally adheres to gold, only backbreaking toil and danger, of a kind that is rare in modern industry.

The harsher face of gold is nowhere displayed more than in Welkom. Set amid the bleak landscape of the heart of the Orange Free State, it is atop the world's richest gold field, at the center of an industry that underpins the South African economy and produces 60 per cent of the Western world's supply.

Last year the Welkom mines yielded 220 tons of South Africa's output — 700 tons that brought revenues of more than three billion dollars or nearly 40 per cent of the country's foreign exchange, the *New York Times* reports.

The money is not easily earned. Mahatyana Mahooiana, a fairly typical example of the 350,000 Blacks who constitute 90 per cent of the industry's work force,' spends half of his waking life in a steamy dungeon at the Anglo American Corporation's Free State Geduld Mine here.

Six days a week he rides an elevator to the bottom of No. 2 shaft 5,000 feet underground and a rail dolly carries him half a mile to a terminal 300 yards from the pit face. From there he scrambles along a narrowing tunnel that leads in semidarkness to where gold-bearing ore is blasted from the rock.

The work site presents a satanic scene. The darkened pit wall where gold-bearing ores are blasted from the rock face is 40 inches high, inclined at 40 degrees to the horizontal.

Mahooiana, 27, a driller, half lies and half crouches on a bed of crushed rock to punch holes for the explosives, his hard hat brushing on the jagged rock ceiling.

The temperature hovers around 90 degrees Fahrenheit, with the humidity at a constant 95 per cent. Much of the time there is ear-splitting noise from the drills and eye-watering dust.

Always there is a danger of a sudden rock burst, crushing the wood and concrete piles that buttress the ceiling.

Mahooiana, in common with most of the 350,000 Blacks working in the gold mines, is a so-called migrant worker, living in a hostel at the mine. His wife and three children are at home in the mountain pastures of Lesotho, a Black state whose closest border is 100 miles away.

The gold is found in seams that are generally less than a foot deep and in quantities of less than a third of an ounce per ton. Scattered through the rock like yeast, it is hardly ever visible.



Azanian workers in South African gold mine.

The processing is elaborate, involving crushing, treatment to separate the gold from other valuable components, mainly uranium and sulfer, and smelting.

TIGHT SECURITY

In the pouring room security is tight. New recruits are carefully screened, and even veteran employees must strip and move through a security check before donning working clothes, a process repeated on the way out.

The senior staff, all Whites, wear white coveralls. The Blacks, who do most of the handling of the metal, wear blue coveralls without pockets and fastened at the back. To reduce the chances of collusion, they are selected from different tribes.

Two men armed with revolvers are on hand, and only carefully screened visitors may enter.

Throughout the country last year Anglo American produced 278 tons of gold valued at $11.2 billion and had an after-tax profit of $143.5 million — not a good year by recent standards but enough to provide investors with a healthy dividend.

With the price of gold up to more than $160 this year, compared with last year's average of $121, profits should be sharply better. For the industry as a whole the price rise means an increase in revenues of more than $500 million.

The figures are taken by some Blacks as proof that the industry could pay better wages and would do so if Black labor was unionized.

Black workers are represented on so-called liaison committees that handle grievances but have no bargaining rights. White mine workers, on the other hand, have one of the most powerful unions in the country.

The criticism focuses on Anglo America, and not just because it dominates the industry. Harry F. Oppenheimer, its chairman, has been in the forefront of opposition to apartheid for 30 years and has been a major backer of parliamentary groups pressing for equality.

Stephen Biko, the murdered Black Consciousness Movement founder, said during an interview last year, "Oppenheimer is insincere. He can afford to be charitable because the country has a system that exists to prop him up."

Samora Machel In Cuba

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

identified their various organizations.

Speaking before thousands at a meeting held at the former Moncada Garrison in the eastern Cuban city of Santiago de Cuba, President Machel declared that the Mozambican and Cuban peoples are pillars of the liberation struggles in Africa and Latin America.

The FRELIMO leader noted that the blood of Africa and Cuba were mixed from their beginnings and will continue to be so "because we are the survivors of slavery and colonialism.

"We do not feel like strangers in Cuba, but as a constituent part of this people," President Machel said in reference to the rousing reception he was given upon his arrival in Cuba.

Later in his speech, he praised the valuable technical and other aid given to Mozambique by the Cuban government.

Turning to the topic of southern Africa, President Machel said that his people will continue to support the armed liberation struggle against the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia despite attacks from the Smith regime and South Africa. (See excerpts of President Machel's speech in the centerfold.)

In the city of Nueva Gerona, capital of the Isle of Pines, the revolutionary leaders of Cuba and Mozambique toured a secondary school that bears the name of Eduardo Mondlane, the assassinated founder of FRELIMO. Hundreds of young Mozambicans are presently studying at the school.

Afterwards, Castro and Machel went to a similar school named after Samora Machel. Both presidents spoke before more than a thousand students gathered at the school and attended a cultural event organized by Cuban and Mozambican students.

In his remarks to the students, President Machel urged the youth to turn the knowledge they will gain in Cuba into "weapons of liberation" and solidarity with their people.□



SAMORA MACHEL(with hat) embraces Mozambican student upon visit to Cuban school named after him.

Border Patrol Attacks Striking Arizona Farmworkers

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

ley Ranch, complained. "I don't know why they did this. Maybe it was because they couldn't find all of us, maybe it was because of the strike."

"Since they went out on strike at Goldmar, Immigration has been coming down really hard on them...trying to break down their resistance," said Lupe Sanchez, a director of the Maricopa County Organizing Project (M-COP), which is supporting the undocumented workers with legal help, negotiators, and donations of food and clothing.

M-COP was established last spring to help improve the wages and working conditions of the county's thousands of farm workers, both undocumented and legal.

240 PICKED UP

Since the work stoppages began in the first week of October about 240 citrus workers have been picked up by the Border Patrol, which has brought 20 agents up from Tucson to beef up its force of six agents in Phoenix, reports *Liberation News Service*.

"It *now* clearly appears that the Border Patrol enforcement is in some serious degree being selectively applied where labor disputes are happening. It is being applied just in sufficient force to disrupt organizing efforts and to intimidate the work force, but never as a total sweep sufficient to threaten the harvest," charged Sanchez.

In a related development, the recent acquittal of two Arizona men charged with kidnapping and torturing three Mexican farm workers has enraged the Chicano population throughout the Southwest, reports the *Guardian*.

Protests against the court decision have been filed with the U.S. attorney for Arizona. Also, 1,500 people recently rallied in Tucson, Arizona, to demand a new trial for the murderers, Tom and Pat Hannigan.

The two were tried for the abducting and burning late last year of three Mexican citizens — Manuel Garcia Loya, Barnabee Mata and Eliazar Zavala — who had entered the country without visas to work in the fields in Cochise County.

According to Margo Cowan of the Manzo Area Council, "There wasn't any motive for the attack. It was just sheer brutality directed against farm workers."□

Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

system, but more upon themselves. So after reading of the Party's programs, I feel that any information you could send me would be very helpful. I shall look forward to hearing from you. Closing, I again want to say thank you. And I hope that Oakland will open the eyes of the brothers and sister as to what they can accomplish in unity. And I am truly glad to see that our leader Brother Huey has shown the system that we are ready to fight. In closing, I want to say power to all the people.

Very truly yours,

Rev. Joseph L. Bulls

HOPI NATION IN TROUBLE

Dear People,

It has come to our attention that some good people are in trouble. The Hopi Nation is about to have 1,500,000 acres of their ancient and holy homeland taken from them against their will. This is being done through an illegal tribal council, set up by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which represents less than four per cent of the Hopi people.

The Hopi are to be recompensed under the Land Claims Settlement, docket #196, and the Congressional Act to divide the "joint use area" Public law #93-531, at the rate of $3.33 per acre for this land, which is their spiritual duty to protect. The U.S. government plans to lease this land out for oil exploration and strip mining.

Having failed to keep this land from being taken by all legal means available, the traditional leaders, the Mongwis and Kikmongwis, have issued an appeal to the American people. What they are asking is that we telegraph President Carter, on November 11, 1977, requesting that he meet with the traditional Hopi leaders in Hopi land. We are in great sympathy with these people and plan to telegraph and request such a meeting take place and further request that a Congressional investigation be made of Hopi affairs; that justice be restored to the Hopi and that there be an end to the violation of their human rights.

Will you join us to correct this grave injustice? Send telegrams to: President Carter, The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20500.

Please also alert anyone you can think of who would want to send such a telegram.

Thanks for joining in this righteous cause.

The Hog Farmers,
Berkekey, Calif. 94703

You Can Buy THE BLACK PANTHER At The Following Locations

West and North Oakland



Lamp Post	2273 Telegraph Ave.
Sav More Liquor	1333 Peralta
Vince Liquor	1141 Peralta
L & A Liquor	1696 7th St.
Woody Liquor	1812 7th St.
Pon's Market	749 Adeline St.
Danndy Liquor	1321 14th St.
2400 Market	2400 Market
McKinley Liquor	2551 San Pablo Ave.
Blue Bird Liquor	3431 San Pablo Ave.
X-Cel Cleaners	3275 Grove
Clown Liquor	4301 Market St.
Gateway Liquor	5944 San Pablo Ave.
Gallagher Liquor	3649 Grove St.
A & A Liquor	5606 Market
New Rex Liquor	307 Oakland Ave.
M & B Books	MacArthur & Broadway Mall
Alcatraz Liquor	3243 Sactoment Ave.

Indian Woman

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

court hearing, Proctor had her jailed for auto theft.

In court, Ms. Ostrand was awarded a mere $11,500 while her husband retained ownership of the bulk of their common property. Due to this the Committee For Justice, with 2,000 members in Northern California, is organizing in support of Ms. Van Ostrand.

The Committee for Justice (CFJ) was recently formed to fight against injustices committed against Black, Indian and poor people in the Northern California counties of Siskiyou Del Norte, Trinity and Shasta. Presently, the CFJ is pursuing legal means to see to it that Ms. Van Ostrand receives a fair share of her property, which was literally stolen by Proctor.□

Rural Poor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

The most critical deficiencies of doctors in the counties covered (Fresno, Kern, Kings, Madera, Mariposa, Merced and Tulare) occur in family practice, general medicine, internal medicine, pediatrics, obstetrics and gynecology.

What can be done to ease the shortage?

The co-authors suggested several remedies including the use of para-medical personnel, the training of physicians to function in areas where they are badly needed and because doctors often settle where they train,

Medical students themselves have proposed the best solution, Corbus said: That admission to medical school should be contingent upon assignment to a rural area needing practitioners.□

Secret War Against The B.P.P.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

"Tangible Results"; and (IV), "Developments of Counterintelligence Interest."

The memo, evidently one of a series of two-week reports, exposes as a lie FBI claims that it merely monitored clashes between the BPP and the US organization. Rather, the federal police bureaucracy actively instigated, provoked and assisted the Karenga group as part of its nationwide conspiracy against the Oakland-based BPP.

(To put the recently released document into perspective, a December 2, 1968, memo from late FBI czar J. Edgar Hoover to 13 field offices commanded: "In order to fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences *as well as to exploit all avenues for creating further dissension within the ranks of the BPP*, recipient offices are instructed to submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures *aimed at crippling the BPP.*)"

(On January 17, 1969, as a direct result of this secret FBI campaign of violence, Southern California BPP leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Jerome Huggins were assassinated on the UCLA campus by a group of U.S. members.)

The San Diego FBI office, the memo exposes, embarked upon variations of the Bureau's anonymous letter ploy — sending anonymous cartoons to "various individuals" in the San Diego area. The cartoons, generally, either ridiculed local and national BPP leaders in relation to US's Karenga or boldly prophesized acts of violence against BPP members. The cartoons were made to appear as if they were drawn and distributed by the US organization.

According to the memo, the "Tangible Results" of this ploy were:

"On 4/4/69, there was a rally in Southcrest Park in southeast San Diego. During this rally US members confronted BPP members and the BPP members ran the US members off. This reportedly is a result of the receipt of cartoons by BPP members berating them and causing ill feelings toward the U.S. members.

"As a result of the above and on the same date, US members broke into a BPP political educational meeting. They stated at this time that they were looking for Walter Wallace and when he was not present, 'roughed up' Velma Green, Wallace's girlfriend. There was a big blow up over this activity and the US members expressed violent opposition toward being called 'pork chops' and 'pork chop niggers' by the BPP and specifically by the BPP newspaper. The BPP members in turn strongly objected being made fun of by cartoons being distributed by the US organization.

"(Name deleted) has advised on several occasions that the cartoons are 'really shaking up' the BPP. They have made the BPP feel that US is getting ready to move and this was the cause of the confrontation at Southcrest Park on 4/4/69.

"VI. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

"Due to the fact that the US members violently objected to being called 'pork chops,' a change in the order of the mailing of the cartoons was made in San Diego. One of the recently Bureau-approved cartoons depicting Ron Karenga holding a Black Panther off with his hand with the title 'Pork Chop Karenga' was distributed on 4/7/69, due to the excellent timely release of this particular cartoon."

On May 23, 1969, BPP member John Savage was murdered in cold blood as he walked down a San Diego street by an US member named "Tambozi." As the BPP member walked by, "Tambozi" grabbed him by the shoulder, jammed a .38 automatic into the back of his neck and pulled the trigger. John Savage, 24, died instantly.



Black Panther Party Fallen Comrades JOHN SAVAGE (left) and SYLVESTER BELL were slain by reactionary US organization members as part of an FBI plot in San Diego in 1969.

Less than three months later, on August 15, 1969, BPP member Sylvester Bell was assassinated by Karenga's henchmen. Although neither murderer was ever prosecuted, an FBI memo dated September 18, 1969, claimed credit for the latter slaying, gloating that "a substantial amount of the unrest is directly attributed to this (COINTELPRO) program."

The September memo callously continues: "In view of the recent killing of BPP member Sylvester Bell,a new cartoon is being considered in the hopes that it will assist in the continuance of the rift between the BPP and U.S."

Dissension achieved through discrediting the Party's leadership was also part of the FBI's plan according to the April memo:

"Due to the numerous Bureau-approved activities to instill the belief that Walter Wallace [then the coordinator of the San Diego BPP Chapter] is himself a police informant, widespread suspicion now exists that Walter Wallace is, in fact, a police agent. For individuals have gone to Oakland to present evidence that Wallace is an informant and this has resulted in a great deal of unrest and consternation within the Party."

TO BE CONTINUED

Vice Squad Conspiracy Against Huey

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

the person who shot Ms. Smith differed. Gary said the assailant had straight hair, slicked back, and that someone said, "Hi, Leibo" to him just before the shooting, while Jenkins said the person's hair was braided on at least one side and that the man was about 5'3". Neither description matches Huey.

Again characterizing Gary as "a sick liar engaged in fantasy," Otis pointed out the woman's lies regarding a secretly taped interview she had with a freelance journalist — Gary first denied ever making certain statements, and then, after the tape was played in court, she could "neither deny or affirm" what she had said.

(Interestingly, on the tape Gary admits making a deal with the police in return for her testimony. Jenkins admitted making a similar deal during the hearing. In fact, both women have tested this deal and have been released from jail on their own recognizance following arrest after calling the Alameda County district attorney's office.)

Otis also noted that Gary failed to pick out Huey's picture the first time she saw a photo lineup, only later to identify the picture after being told that the vice squad wanted to "get" the BPP leader.

Concerning the illegal search of the garage area, attorney Paul Harris argued, as Otis had done under cross-examination, that Oakland police investigator Richard Brierly had focused his attention solely on Huey from the beginning (with "help" from the vice squad), that he had not obtained a warrant for the search and that the prosecutor had failed to establish that the car in the garage was Huey's, making Brierly's testimony inadmissible.

Regarding Callins, Otis sought to prevent the admission into the record of earlier testimony and a hospital tape recording (conducted by the police) on the grounds that since Callins now sincerely says he can't remember specific details of the incident, Huey's right to cross-examination of witnesses is severely restricted.

How can I effectively cross-examine him? Tell me, tell me," Otis said to Judge Friborg.

The hearing ended when Friborg dismissed all three defense motions.

Earlier last week, on Friday November 4, Judge Friborg upheld the $500 fine he maliciously leveled against Ms. Molly Dougherty, the BPP supporter he jailed for five days on Monday, October 31, for refusing to testify in what she called a "frame-up" against Huey. It was the maximum penalty for contempt.

On hand to greet Ms. Dougherty when she was released from custody last Friday were Huey, her attorney, Doren Weinberg and several dozen well-wishers. Huey graciously presented Ms. Dougharty with a dozen long-stemmed roses.

If the current schedule holds, Huey's Superior Court trial will begin in the summer of 1978 — exactly a decade after the July 15, 1968, date which began Huey's celebrated trial on false charges of murdering an Oakland policeman. After three trials, all charges against Huey were dropped. □

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution." — Huey P. Newton



GEORGE JACKSON MEDICAL CLINIC

GEORGE JACKSON MEDICAL CLINIC

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

SHOE PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.



MINI-MARKET FOR SENIORS

PEOPLE'S FREE LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

FREE PEST CONTROL

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Oakland Community School.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental facilities at the earliest ages.



OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

ELLA HILL HUTCH WINS IN 4th DISTRICT

DESPITE DISTRICT ELECTIONS, INCUMBENTS RETAIN POWER IN SAN FRANCISCO

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Unofficial results of San Francisco's first district elections for the Board of Supervisors indicate that corporate-backed conservatives still control city government, with Black candidate Ella Hill Hutch (District 4) and a couple of others the only newcomers with strong community backing.

Six incumbents — Gordon Lau, Dianne Feinstein, John Molinari, Quentin Kopp, Ronald Pelosi, and Robert Gonzales — were re-elected along with conservative San Francisco City College teacher Lee Dolson (District 9) and fireman and ex-policeman Dan White (District 8).

The only winners from the other end of the political spectrum were Mrs. Hutch, gay activist Harvey Milk (District 5) and women's activist Carol Ruth Silver (District 6).

The election of Dolson in District 9 was a serious blow to progressive forces in the city as Black candidate Bob Covington, one of the architects of the movement for district elections, suffered defeat in a close election.

Another serious loss was the sound defeat of Proposition U which asked San Francisco voters to give their approval to the purchase of the International Hotel (I-Hotel) for low-income housing.

Before their brutal eviction earlier this year, elderly Chinese and Filipino tenants fought for over nine years to keep the embattled I-Hotel as low-income housing. Supporters of the hotel argued that it would be cheaper to renovate the building than to construct new housing for the elderly and poor.

A factor in the defeat of Proposition U was that the city claimed it would cost $2.3 million to buy the hotel and another $100,000 to renovate it. I-Hotel supporters, however, charged that these figures were purposely inflated in order to discourage voters from supporting the ballot measure.





ELLA HILL HUTCH (left) was a winner in the San Francisco November 8 elections, but Proposition U lost badly.

With 67 per cent of the vote counted last Tuesday, the measure was losing convincingly, 52,037 in favor compared to 106,677 opposed.

Proposition M, which called for changes in the promotional examinations for the San Francisco Fire Department, won by a vote of 92,051 to 61,692. This can be viewed as a victory for poor and minority people in San Francisco since current promotional policies are heavily in favor of White firemen.

Probably the brightest spot in the election for Black and poor people was the victory of Mrs. Hutch. In 1974 she became the first woman on the Board of Directors of the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) and has served as vice-president of the Board since 1976.

Mrs. Hutch has been very active in community affairs for over 30 years and is a member of Black Women Organized for Political Action (BWOPA). Many feel that she will bring badly-needed community input into the Board of Supervisors. She will represent District 4 (the Fillmore/Tenderloin District), an area with very serious problems and a high percentage of Black and minority people.

Many feel that the defeat of Covington and other progressive and community candidates was caused by a low voter turnout — less than 50 per cent. When district elections were threatened last August by the vote on Propositions A and B, Black and minority voters came out in large numbers to show their support. In many districts over 15 candidates were seeking election and this may have caused some confusion among voters.

Here are the partial vote counts in the city's poor, minority and working-class districts:

•District 4 — Western Addition and Tenderloin (11 candidates): Ella Hill Hutch — 3,895 (35.8 per cent); Paul Denning — 3,262 (30 per cent)

•District 5 — Castro St. and Haight (17 candidates): Harvey Milk — 5,907 (30.5 per cent); Terence Hallinan — 3,468 (17.9 per cent);

•District 6 — Mission District (13 candidates): Carol Ruth Silver — 4, 209 (40.8 per cent); Gary Borvice — 2,370 (22.9 per cent);

•District 7 — Hunters Point (10 candidates): Robert Gonzales — 2,617 (29.5 per cent); Victor Medearis — 2,593 (29.3 per cent);

•District 9 — Ingleside (12 candidates): Lee S. Dolson — 4,402 (29.8 per cent); Bob Covington — 3,527 (23.5 per cent).

Although it remains to be seen, conservative elements in San Francisco see this election as a victory. However, for the first time there will be supervisors on the Board who will be accountable to their communities, not to downtown financial interests.

Also, in Detroit, Black Mayor Coleman Young retained his mayor's seat by easily defeating challenger Ernest Browne, Jr., 190,641 to 130,596. Young, who became Detroit's first Black elected mayor in 1973, will now begin his second term in the financially troubled "Motor City," headquarters of the nation's automotive industry.□



For the first time in this century, on November 8, 1977, San Francisco voters chose their Board of Supervisors via district elections.